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A Dentist, a Journalist, and 2 Unionists

Four Palestinians To Be Deported

by Khalil Touma

"This crime is committed by the very persons who are talking day and night nowadays about peace."

MK Tawfiq Toubi, of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, spoke at a press conference held at the American Colony Hotel October 29. His remarks were in response to the Israeli decision last week to deport four more Palestinian residents of the occupied territories.

The press conference was only the beginning of a series of protest activities against the intended deportation. It was called for by a number of lawyers and the families of the four. Representatives of Israel's League of Human Rights, crowds of journalists and Palestinian and Israeli residents also attended.

The four are: dentist Azmi Shuaibi from al-Bireh, north of Jerusalem; journalist Hassan Abd al-Jawad from Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem; unionist Ali Abu Hilal from Abu Dis village, south of Jerusalem; and newly-released prisoner Zaki Statieh from Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

The four were arrested in the early hours of October 27 in preparation for their forced expulsion. A large force of Israeli soldiers, border police and intelligence officers raided their homes and carried out a provocative search. The four Palestinians were then led handcuffed and blindfolded to the military headquarters in Ramallah, Bethlehem and Gaza where they were verbally informed of the decision by Amnon Shahak, Israel's general commander for the West Bank and Gaza, to deport them. They were told their deportation was based on suspected hostile and inciting activities in which they were allegedly involved.

Azmi Shuaibi, a prominent national figure, is accused by the military of leading members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in al-Bireh. Shuaibi was elected to the town municipality in 1976 in a largely pro-PLO sweep. He, along with others, was dismissed from office by the military government in 1982 for refusing to cooperate with the Israeli 'civil administration.' Since then, he has been under town arrest.

The dentist was also arrested several times and forced to spend several months in detention centres despite the authorities' failure to prove any of the allegations against him. During his frequent periods of imprisonment, he developed an illness later diagnosed in 1984 as a benign form of tuberculosis. The 39-year-old dentist is now under constant medication and treatment, and is unable to use nearly 80 percent of his lung capacity. His arrest and possible deportation have provoked fears concerning his health since he has been prevented from taking his medication or from receiving medical treatment. Shuaibi is married and has three children.

Clockwise: Azmi Shuaibi, Ali Abu Hillal, Zaki Statieh and Hassan Abd al-Jawad.

Hassan Abd al-Jawad, 33, is the third and last of his brothers to be threatened with deportation. His eldest brother, Fayeq, was deported from the occupied territories in the early years of the occupation. His second brother, Khader, was prevented from returning home following his graduation from college abroad. The journalist has been accused by the authorities of being an active member in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Abd al-Jawad, who has been a journalist for the past eight years, is the only means of support for his family and elderly parents. Before his graduation from Bethlehem University in 1979, he was the head of the university student council. In 1974, he was arrested and jailed for two years and in 1978, for one-and-a-half years.

He is currently a partner in a press office in Bethlehem. He is also the head of the Dheisheh Youth Centre which was closed by the authorities two years ago. Abd al-Jawad is married and has four children.

Ali Abu Hilal, 33, is an active unionist and a member of the administration of the Unity Labour Faction in the West Bank. Ali, currently employed as a plasterer, was arrested a number of times in the past and had been under town arrest orders in Abu Dis for a year and a half until two months ago. Abu Hilal was only recently married.

Zaki Statieh is a former political prisoner released in the May exchange between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. The authorities accuse Statieh of incitement after his recent release from prison where he was serving a sentence of 15 years for alleged security offences.

The Israeli authorities announced that the four would be deported within 48 hours of their arrest if no appeals were filed. Lawyers for the four filed protest appeals, however, and a session of the protest committee formed by a panel of military judges is scheduled for next week. If the lawyers' appeal is refused, the four may still take their case to the Israeli High Court. It is very difficult to predict the outcome of the appeal process, said lawyer Osama Odeh at the Jerusalem press conference. If the deportations are carried out, that will bring the number of Palestinians expelled since this summer to 25, not including the 'voluntary' expulsion of activist Khalil Abu Zayyad two months ago.

At the press conference, Odeh read a prepared statement from the four men in which they condemned the deportation as part of the oppressive policy of the Israeli government. They demanded the cancellation of the "iron fist" policy which includes the re-introduction of deportations and administrative detentions. The Palestinians also demanded the immediate release of the over 100 administrative detainees and the immediate return of those deported.

In the statement, they asserted their belief that they are being deported not for incitement, as the authorities claim, but for their political beliefs. They stated their total opposition to the Israeli occupation and declared their unshakable belief that a unified PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They also refused all liquidationist solutions to the Palestinian problem and confirmed their belief in their people's right to self-determination and an independent state. The four said that this could best be achieved through an international conference with the genuine participation of an independent PLO delegation and the Soviet Union. "This is the stand of all Palestinians in the occupied territories. If this is a crime, then all the Palestinian residents are criminals and the Israeli authorities should deport all of them," read the statement.

Israel Shahak, head of the Israeli League of Human Rights, also addressed the press conference. He complained of the fact that while the authorities are busy deporting Palestinians for supposed incitement, fascist Israeli settlers are busy actually committing incitement against the Palestinians.

MK Tawfik Toubi said the occupation aims at destroying the very existence of the Palestinian people and their institutions. This deportation reveals the truth of the so-called peace process which is no more than a new Camp David aimed at the establishment of an Israeli-Jordanian alliance under the umbrella of America, he said.

Among the speakers at the press conference were the wives of Azmi Shuaibi and Hassan Abd al-Jawad, who carried her infant girl. Advocates Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel also spoke. A list of lawyers who will contribute to the defence of the four was read. Also read was a letter of protest signed by a number of Israeli academicians. Conference participants also received a number of cables of protest to the deportations from local Palestinians and foreign individuals and institutions.

The intended deportations have provoked protest demonstrations [illegible] the occupied territories. In Tel Aviv, crowds of Arabs and Jews, even some relatives of the four, demonstrated in front of the Defence Ministry October 30. Two statements signed by Arabs and well-known Israeli personalities were distributed to the crowds. The statements demanded the immediate cancellation of the deportation orders.

Students at both Bir Zeit and Bethlehem Universities demonstrated October 30-31. Army units rushed to cordon off Bir Zeit's campus following an anti-deportation protest October 30. The same day the army closed roads leading to Bethlehem University for fear of similar protest action. Students were turned back and unable to attend class. The next day, October 31, students at Bethlehem University organised a sit-down strike in protest of the deportations. The army arrived and besieged the campus, firing tear gas into the crowd.

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Hussein, Arafat Agree to Continue Joint Efforts

News Analysis
by Baher Ashhab

Palestinian-Jordanian relations seemed to be speeding along the road to recovery this week following a short period of tension.

The temporary rift between the two peoples prompted Israeli and some world media to predict the immature death of the Amman agreement and perhaps even the death of the PLO itself.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein met in Amman, October 28 with the intention of patching up their differences and reassessing each other's commitment to their joint diplomatic efforts. The joint move has been violently disrupted by the Israeli attack on PLO offices in Tunis.

At the end of the meeting, the two allies confirmed their total commitment to the original agreement drafted in Amman several months ago. This agreement insists on including the PLO in any peace negotiations and on conducting these negotiations under the auspices of an international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The Hussein-Arafat meeting was also directed at discussing the latest attempt by the Israeli government to eliminate the Palestinian leadership from the political arena. This attempt is otherwise known as the "Peres initiative." Both Arafat and Hussein came out against such an attempt, with Arafat declaring that "there can be no peace in the area if it is to overpass the Palestinian role in achieving such a peace."

It might be too early to predict that "all is well" between the Palestinian leadership and the Jordanian monarch but it is clear that they are once again moving in the right direction. There seems to be no truth to Israeli and American media allegations that an irreparable crack had occurred in Palestinian-Jordanian relations and that Hussein was ready to discuss peace over lunch with Shimon Peres.

What appears to be closer to the truth is that Hussein cannot and will not speak on behalf of a constituency that is not his. He, as well as most pragmatists studying the Middle East conflict, know that peace and the PLO are inseparable.

"He [King Hussein] was extremely angered by the reluctance of PLO member Milhem to sign a British-drafted declaration prior to a meeting with British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe," one Israeli official is quoted as saying. "This was very embarrassing to his position as a moderator between the PLO and the West. He is now bound to dump the PLO all together from the peace process." This was the message broadcast by Israeli politicians and their press over the last several weeks. Hussein, a *wiser man than often portrayed* however merely suggested that upon his return to Amman he would "reassess his approach to the Middle East peace moves."

"There will be no peace or stability if they sidestep the PLO" – Yasser Arafat.

That is exactly what he did during his meeting with Arafat. He assessed his approach and decided on yet stronger ties with the PLO and on a conditional rejection of the Peres plan. It is also believed that because of disappointment at US President Reagan's postponement of arms delivery to his country, the king is bound to respond less to US pressure in the near future.

In a surprising statement by Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister said that the call by Arafat and Hussein for peace talks under an international umbrella was only reasonable. She termed calls for direct talks without an international framework in reference to the Israeli positions, "unrealistic."

It is predicted that the PLO will find encouragement in her statement and use it as a lead to gather similar support from other European countries. In addition, Mrs Thatcher admitted that Milhem and Bishop Elia Khoury had "very good reasons" for not signing the declaration prepared by Howe. "The understanding upon which the meeting had been set up was not the statement the delegation members were prepared to sign," she said during a meeting with British members of Parliament October 29. [Mohammed Milhem and Bishop Khoury were the Palestinian delegates scheduled to meet the British in London early in October. The British cancelled the meeting when Milhem refused to sign a prearranged statement.]

To those who are unfamiliar with the way things work in the Middle East, the situation just a while ago seemed at an impasse. Israel was at its best in years with Shimon Peres on one hand appearing as cute as ever with his peace proposal at the UN while on the other hand wielding the "iron fist" in the occupied territories. The PLO seemed to be taken aback, Hussein embarrassed and Mubarak angered at the Americans. Time seemed to be siding with the Israelis, which meant they would have a freer hand at manipulating the "peace process" to their advantage and to the disadvantage of the Palestinians.

Luckily, however, all that has proved to be merely a passing wind. Arafat, well-known for his survivalist technique, is again exhibiting his ability for tolerance and age-old diplomatic cleverness. He was there in Amman to tell King Hussein that the PLO is not dead yet, but rather more determined to arrive at a solution and more willing to stick to the diplomatic option despite Israeli attempts to sabotage its role.

In a press conference following his meeting with Hussein, Arafat indicated that his cooperation with the king is far from over. "We have come too far to abort the journey now," he declared. He went further and invited Syria's Hafez al-Assad to join him and King Hussein in the peace process. Assad, who is a self-proclaimed enemy of the PLO, may not heed the call. But, at least, Arafat's gesture surely indicates his desire for a comprehensive settlement which would include all those concerned in the diplomatic process.

Arafat is also to travel to Egypt in the next few days to hold talks with President Mubarak who maintained his support for the PLO despite much American pressure. Once the three leaders adopt a unified position in regards to the latest developments including the Peres initiative, things will be put in perspective and Israel's real intentions will be exposed.

Arafat spoke for every Palestinian when he said that, "There will be no peace or stability in the region if they [the Israelis and Americans] decide to sidestep the PLO and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance to UN resolutions." Sticking with this concept is really the only way to assure that peace will not be achieved at Palestinian expense. It is difficult to accept the present situation as is, yet it is doubly difficult to accept our future being outlined by those with a long history of enmity toward us. The PLO has our trust and we intend to keep it that way.

Innocent Arab Youth Jailed 7 Months

A 16-year-old Palestinian youth from Hebron served seven months in an Israeli prison for a crime he did not commit, according to a *Jerusalem Post* report October 27.

The Hebronite youth, whose name was not mentioned, was wrongly convicted of raping an Israeli girl in Tel Aviv, where he apparently works. Tel Aviv police reportedly arrested the boy on the evidence of shoeprints and undershorts left at the scene of the crime. The *Post* report said the prosecution only discovered the undershorts were not the boy's after he had served his seven-month sentence.

The debate over the issue of the boy's imprisonment was first raised by MK Amira Sartani, of the Mapam Party, when she submitted a parliamentary question on the subject to the Israeli Justice Minister, June 17.

Sartani said that after the boy had served his original seven-month sentence, the Tel Aviv District Court granted a prosecution appeal April 19 against the lightness of the sentence and increased it to three years. According to the *Post* article, it was only then that the youth said that the shoes and undershorts the police had submitted as evidence against him were not his. The boy's claim was substantiated after it was examined by the prosecution and the police.

However, the boy served 26 days more according to the deputy prosecutor for the district attorney's office. He said the boy was held for extra 26 days from April 19 to May 14 for two reasons: "to examine the shorts and because the boy could not raise the bond."

Army, Police Protect Ramallah Murderer

Justice on the West Bank was dealt another severe blow this week when Ramallah police and the Israeli army moved to protect a local man accused of imprisoning and later murdering his own daughter.

Reports from Ramallah, north of Jerusalem, indicate that Naifeh al-Salameen was locked in a corner of her father's basement and chained to her bed for 17 years for reasons as yet unclear. Abdallah al-Salameen, her father, told neighbours who noticed her absence that she was dead. Naifeh's mother, who is divorced and living in Jordan, and her older brother, who is an engineer in the Gulf, were also told that the 16-year-old had died. Apparently her father gave no more details of the supposed death and neither family nor neighbours questioned it.

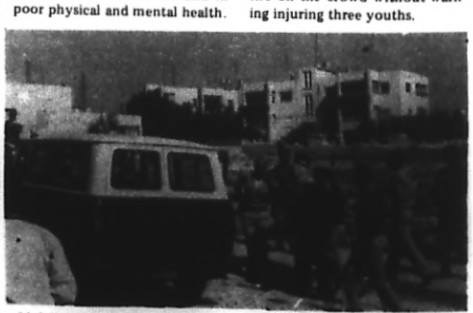
The girl's imprisonment oddly enough only became known earlier this week when Israeli soldiers patrolling the area near al-Ama'ri Refugee Camp entered the al-Salameen home in order to post a lookout on the roof. Apparently when they heard noises from the basement and fearing that possible stone-throwers were hiding out there, the soldiers stormed the lower chamber and discovered the girl. The soldiers reported that she was chained to her bed and in poor physical and mental health.

Naifeh's father, Abdallah, was then taken to Ramallah police headquarters where he was questioned about the girl's imprisonment and later released. He reportedly told the police that his daughter was crazy.

When word of the bizarre story reached the local news media, Abdallah apparently became enraged and returned to his house where he murdered his daughter who had also been returned home by the police. Abdallah apparently slit her throat with a knife. He then went again to the police and turned himself in. His whereabouts are not now known.

Upon hearing the report of the girl's murder, scores of angry Ramallah residents stormed the man's house demanding justice be done. Reports also began circulating through the West Bank that al-Salameen had worked for the Israeli authorities in his capacity as a rent collector in one of the local wholesale markets.

Israeli soldiers hurried to the scene of the spontaneous demonstration outside the al-Salameen home where Arab residents were venting their fury at the murderer as well as the authorities who had earlier released him. The army opened fire on the crowd without warning injuring three youths.



Abdallah al-Salameen (in the *Kaffiyeh*) is led away by police for a second time, this time after he murdered his captive daughter./AO

Beit Sahour women protest the arrests of their sons outside the village Catholic Church last month./BA photo.

12 Beit Sahour Youths Sentenced

Twelve Beit Sahour youths, including a 14-year-old, were sentenced to prison last week for periods ranging from 10 months to two years. Twenty-five other youths arrested as a lot last August are scheduled to appear before a military court next week.

The youths, all residents of the tiny town of Beit Sahour just south of Bethlehem, were charged with membership in a PLO faction and with possession of PLO literature. They were all registered members of the Christian Orthodox Youth Club in their town.

Though most were high school students, several held odd jobs that provided the only source of income for their families. Since their arrests two months ago the families have depended on community and church handouts.

The manner in which they were arrested attracted much public attention and caused widespread panic in Beit Sahour. *Al Fajr* reported in its August 30 issue that hundreds of border police took part in the arrest campaign which stretched over three weeks. The youths were reported to have been dragged out of their houses, and beaten before their families and in the centre of town. Their mothers held several prayer vigils and sit-ins at the local Catholic church to protest the detention of their sons. At least three of the youths had a history of medical problems and their families feared for their lives.

Karim Khouri, father of 20-year-old Khaled, told *Al Fajr* that when he was permitted to visit his son after 18 days of solitary confinement at the Hebron jail, he was shocked at his son's mental and physical health. "His face was full of bruises. His lips were swollen and his eyes half shut. He looked as if he had aged 20 years in those 18 days," he said. "He appeared so dazed he hardly recognised me," said Khouri. Khaled was sentenced to one year imprisonment and one year suspended. "They have ruined his future," his father said.

The twelve youths are: Nicola Ibrahim Khoury; Jiryis Yusef Qumsiyeh; Mufid Hanna Burham; Ra'ed Hanna Andoni; Khaled Karim Khouri; Haitham George Musleh; Imad Elias Abu Zalaf; Ziad Samih Ziadah; Muhand Yunan Salameh; Anton Louis al-Shamali; Ra'fat Khalil Ishaq; and Jawad Issa Musleh.

PALESTINIAN BEQA'A BASES BOMBED

The Israeli Air Force launched an attack on two Palestinian bases in the Beqa'a Valley in Lebanon this week. According to a Palestinian spokesman, the raid resulted in a number of casualties and partial destruction of two buildings.

In Israel, the army spokesman declared that the Israeli warplanes had attacked two bases belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. The PFLP-GC is headed by Ahmad Jibril. The two bases attacked October 27 were located in the vicinity of Bar Elias village. They included armoured vehicles, tanks and ammunition depots.

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Detainees End Hunger Strike Midst More Arrests

Pressured by the deteriorating health of some of the previously ill prisoners, administrative detainees in Jnaid and Beer Sheba Prisons suspended their hunger strike October 18 and 21.

According to *Al Fajr* sources, the strikers in both prisons were visited by special physicians who made routine check-ups of the detainees. The strike was then suspended after it became known that some of their colleagues were seriously ill. In addition, prison authorities agreed to meet the detainees' demand for newspapers and items from the prison canteen. The International Committee of the Red Cross also scheduled family visits beginning on November 1.

Administrative detainees at Jnaid Prison, where the majority were held, began the hunger strike October 8 in protest against their detentions without charge or trial. A few days later, as Israeli authorities began transferring some of the detainees to Beer Sheba Prison in an attempt to break the strike, the protest spread to that prison as well.

Relatives and lawyers said that the strike was intended to attract the attention of popular and human rights organisations to their arbitrary arrests in the hope that they would in turn put pressure on the authorities to cancel it.

In other related events, Israeli military authorities arrested four more Palestinians and placed them under administrative detention for four months. This brought the number of Palestinians held in Israeli jails under this category to an unofficial 108.

The four detainees are Najah University lecturer Sami Kilani, Gaza Islamic University lecturer Mohammed Abu Joma'a, Abu Dis resident and unionist Mohammed Labadi and ex-political prisoner Loay Abdoh. The charges against the four were unclear but their arrest seemed to have been caused by their political opinions regarding the occupation and the Peres Plan.

At least with one detainee, Abu Joma'a, who is also the *imam* at a local mosque in Gaza, his detention seemed to have closely followed a complaint of mistreatment he lodged against an Israeli official. His family was quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* as charging that his arrest was directly related to his complaint. Local observers, on the other hand, argue that the four detainees were arrested in the process of ridding the occupied territories of its intellectuals and political activists.

Meanwhile, conditions in the Nafha Desert Prison are reportedly deteriorating. The prison authority, *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily reported, recently issued a number of orders against the political prisoners there in an attempt to revoke most of the privileges gained in previous struggle.

One of the new humiliating orders is that prisoners are forced to stand up whenever an Israeli officer passes by. These orders, however, have been refused by the prisoners.

A warning letter was sent to prisoners as a result. The letter from the prison authorities stated that severe punishment will be used against them if they do not comply with these orders.

The situation of the prisoners is very critical, the paper said. *Al Ittihad* reported that their families have appealed to local and international opinion to interfere on their behalf. The authorities have threatened to quell the prisoners' disobedience by force, the families said.

Abu Ain Detention Order Replaced by Formal Charge

Ziad Abu Ain, the first Palestinian arrested in the recent wave of renewed administrative detentions, is now to be charged and brought to trial.

After being held without charge or trial for three months under a renewable six-month detention order, Abu Ain has now been officially charged with incitement and is scheduled to appear before a military court November 25. Abu Ain, 26, has a good chance of facing only a light sentence if found guilty of incitement; whereas the chances of him being released after serving the original six-month detention order were slim. In the past, Palestinian political prisoners have served as much as seven years in prison under the same renewable detention orders.

Abu Ain was one of the freed prisoners released in the prisoner-exchange in May between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. He was re-arrested July 31, thus heralding the return of administrative detentions in the West Bank and Gaza. Currently more than a hundred Palestinians have been served with similar orders.

A statement by his family after his arrest charged that Abu Ain was being made a scapegoat for the re-introduction of administrative detention. The original allegations against him of incitement were heard in a closed hearing.

Ziad Abu Ain

Lawyer Jonathan Kuttab, who represents Abu Ain, told *Al Fajr* that the military authorities informed him of their decision to replace the administrative detention orders with a formal indictment and trial shortly before a military court hearing on the issue October 17. Kuttab said he believed the military decision came out of fear that the court would rule against the detention and thus force the military to free Abu Ain.

Kuttab said that an earlier court hearing had been held in which he had also argued for the cancellation of the arbitrary detention orders and for a formal indictment and trial of his client. Kuttab felt Abu Ain's chances of serving less prison time were much greater with a formal military trial.

In that first hearing, Kuttab cited an Israeli High Court ruling that administrative detention was a very severe punishment and should only be used when no other means to reprimand an individual were available. The lawyer then demanded his client be brought to trial. The panel of judges, however, ruled in favour of the administrative detention orders on Abu Ain.

It was after the first hearing that Kuttab decided to carry the issue further and take it once again to the military court the next time it was in session. However, the military decision to bring Abu Ain to trial makes that step unnecessary, said Kuttab.

Abu Ain's brother, Mahmoud, told *Al Fajr* that the allegations of incitement against his brother are false. He said that his brother will surely be freed if given a fair trial. Abu Ain will be tried in front of a panel of three military judges, only one of whom is required to have prior legal experience and education.

Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres — Will they be laughing together much longer?

Labour, Likud Lock Horns Over Peres 'Peace' Plan

News Analysis
by Michael Lowry

Following what seemed to be an insurmountable crisis, Labour and Likud members of the unity government patched up their bandaid coalition and received a Knesset vote of confidence this week.

Mutual backbiting between Labour and Likud cabinet ministers in Israel's national unity government has come to be taken for granted over the past year. Yet, the unprecedented assault launched by the Likud against Prime Minister Peres during his absence from the country in mid-October brought internal bickering in the government to an all-time high.

The Likud focused its attack on Peres' October 21 address to the UN in which he outlined his proposals for Israeli-Jordanian peace negotiations. Accusing the Labour Party of being ready to "give up Judea and Samaria," the Likud ministers lambasted both Peres and his plan, accusing him of having reneged on the policy guidelines of the government coalition agreed upon by Labour and Likud last summer.

Upon Peres' return, it appeared that the government was in the throes of an unbridgeable crisis and that an imminent Likud walkout was inevitable. But when a vote of confidence in the government was held on October 28, the only Likud MK to vote against the government was backbencher David Magen, Ariel Sharon's erstwhile henchman.

Prior to the vote, Peres presented his ideas for future Israeli-Jordanian negotiations to the Knesset, ruling out PLO participation and insisting on direct negotiations with Jordan. Peres did not reject the idea of an international forum, but stipulated that both parties to the negotiations would have to agree before such a forum could be set up and that countries that only have diplomatic relations with one side would automatically be ruled out. (The USSR broke off relations with Israel in 1967).

Much to the Likud's chagrin, Peres did not bother clearing up any of the murkier details of his plan. But he did use the opportunity to lash out at the Likud ministers for their "disgraceful behaviour" during his absence. When the vote was taken, 68 coalition MKs voted confidence in the government; 10 Mapam and Citizen Rights Movement MKs abstained; and Likud MK Magen joined nine other MKs from Tehiya, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace in voting against the government.

Most Israeli political commentators concurred: the Likud had been left with egg on its face. But why did its mountain of abuse bring forth a mouse?

According to the terms of the rotation agreement, Yitzhak Shamir will assume the premiership next year. But if the Likud walks out of the government, he will not be able to do so. Given the findings of recent polls which show a drop of support for the Likud and an upswing in Peres' popularity, the risk of electoral defeat seems to be holding the Likud back from walking out of the government and precipitating general elections.

Furthermore, ever since Begin's retreat from the political world, the Likud has been experiencing an often vicious leadership contest between Shamir, Levy and Sharon. As long as the Likud remains in the government, the Shamir faction can feel reasonably secure that its leader will become prime minister in a year's time.

So it was that Shamir was more restrained than most of his colleagues in denouncing Peres. There have also been reports that Peres worked out a secret agreement with Shamir prior to the vote. However, even though the Likud seems prepared to do anything and everything possible to remain in the government, it also feels a need to express its displeasure over the direction in which Peres is moving.

According to a report in *HaAretz* on October 29, the prime minister's office has worked out a plan for joint authority between Israel and Jordan over the West Bank and Gaza — referred to as a "condominium" arrangement — which will include local Palestinians but which rejects PLO participation.

For the Likud, any move whereby Israel cedes sovereignty — no matter how trifling — is tantamount to treason. Even the mere suggestion of implementing the Camp David "autonomy" plan, which was framed under Likud Prime Minister Menachem Begin, is enough to arouse its fury.

But what of the Labour Party? Most Knesset observers feel that the Labour Party is more than happy about the Likud's recent bumbling. The Labour cabinet ministers are hoping that the Likud will unwittingly manoeuvre itself out of the government, thereby freeing the Labour Party of its commitment to the rotation agreement. But not quite yet.

First, they would like to see an improvement in the economy and likewise, increased momentum toward some kind of negotiations with Jordan.

Following the Knesset confidence vote, the Likud continued to be wary of the Peres plan. On Thursday October 31, *HaAretz* daily reported that Likud leaders had decided to ask Peres to change the details of the diplomatic initiative and present contacts between Israel and Jordan and the proposed interim arrangement for the future of the occupied territories.

Appearing on Israel TV the night before, Deputy Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that he had no knowledge about contacts with Jordan regarding a power-sharing scheme for the occupied territories. He said that if recent rumours about such contacts were true, they constituted a clear violation of the coalition agreement.

According to the *HaAretz* report, the Likud cabinet ministers are furious about having been "hoodwinked." Minister David Levy is quoted as saying "Diplomatic moves are going on behind our backs."

Israeli Major: Military Toasted Attacks on Mayors with Champagne

Amidst charges of a champagne celebration following the 1980 bomb-attacks on West Bank mayors, the trial of two Israeli army officers linked to the Jewish terror underground resumed in Jerusalem District Court.

Military government officials called one of the officers, Major Shlomo Leviatan, a "liar" after he alleged Israeli officials had been jubilant following the car-bomb attacks of the three West Bank mayors. Two of the mayors were maimed in the attacks.

Testifying before the court on Wednesday, October 24, Leviatan said that the authorities knew at the time who was responsible for the attack. "After the attack on the mayors in Judea and Samaria," he said, "there was a festive atmosphere in the military government. Officers and [military] governors toasted the event with a drink and there were officers who said that it was too bad the mayors were only wounded and not killed."

"In such an atmosphere," testified Leviatan, "I saw no reason to report [what I knew]."

The next day, officials from the military government refuted Leviatan's allegations about the atmosphere among occupation officers following the bomb attacks, calling him a "liar".

The trial of the two Israeli army officers linked to the Gush Emunim terrorist underground resumed this month after almost a year's delay. The two officers, Leviatan and Aharon "Roni" Gila, are charged with causing grievous bodily harm, dereliction of duty and failure to prevent a crime in connection with the attempted bomb attack on al-Bireh Mayor Ibrahim Tawil.

Leviatan and Gila's trial was postponed last autumn until the conclusion of the main Jewish terror trial. This allowed underground leaders Menachem Livni and Yehuda Etzion to be called to the witness stand. But when Livni and Etzion (sentenced in July to life and 10 years respectively) appeared in court earlier this month, both men refused to testify.

The prosection has charged that the officers, both high-ranking officials in the military government, had advance knowledge of the bomb attack from Yehuda Etzion but failed to take any action to prevent it.

The trial is scheduled to conclude sometime in mid-November.

Kach Threatens Arab Restaurants, PLP Office

As part of their ongoing anti-Arab campaign, the militant Kach group led by Rabbi Meir Kahane sent threat letters to several Arab restaurant owners last week.

A number of Arab businessmen in Tel Aviv received the letters signed by the Kach and Shas movements. The letters said that unless the Arabs left for the Arab world, they and their restaurants would be blown up.

The letters were written on Kach stationary with a fist and star of David at the top.

The Hebrew daily *Yediot Aharonot* published excerpts from the letters October 25 which read "We, the people of Kach and Shas, intend to blow up the restaurants, whose murky food is stained with dear Jewish blood. You have only a little time to evacuate your restaurants or find yourselves blown into the air." The paper added that the letters also included threats to Israeli leftists. "The leftists of the kibbutzim will not be able to help you. The state of Israel must be clean of enemies, whether overt or covert."

According to the paper, a spokesman from Shas, a religious party and partner in the present government coalition, denied any connection with the letters and threatened to lodge a complaint against Kach for using its name.

In a related development, the Tel Aviv-based office of the Progressive List for Peace received similar threats over the telephone a day before the List organised a meeting in Nazareth to protest the Knesset division to take parliamentary immunity from MK Mohammed Mi'ari one of the leaders of the PLP.

Haim Hanigvi, PLP secretary, told *Al Fajr* that the anonymous caller had telephoned a number of times during the day. He said that his group would destroy the PLP and disrupt the Nazareth meeting. "This is not a new thing," he said. "It is part of the strong anti-Arab atmosphere prevailing in the country." He added that racism, hatred and acts of violence begin against the Arabs and spread to Jews who support the rights of Arabs.

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Peres' Peace Performance

Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres must think he deserves the Noble Peace Prize. In New York, he was the sweetheart of American TV viewers after his 'peace' plan was presented to the United Nations.

Peres must have been further elated after French President Fancois Mitterand commended him and vowed to reconsider the French stand on the PLO. But for Peres, the real brass ring of his diplomatic initiative must have come with the encouraging niceties from Jordan's King Hussein.

But for all its pomp and circumstance, the only thing that Peres and his 'peace' plan deserve is an Oscar for giving the best performance and so successfully appearing to be seriously interested in a lasting peace.

To know the real intentions of Peres one must look at his actions and not his words.

During the past 13 months since Peres took office the quality of life in the occupied territories has worsened contrary to Peres' promises to improve it. West Bank and Gaza municipalities are still run by Israeli officers. Collective punishment is still the rule of the day. Administrative detentions and deportations have been reinstated and over 100 Palestinians are now held without charge or trial.

Economically the situation has deteriorated considerably. The promises of allowing the opening of an Arab bank and a cement factory have not materialised. Instead one of the few remaining Arab institutions – the Jerusalem Electric Company – is threatened with being taken over by its Israeli counterpart.

Even after Peres made his 'peace' speech at the UN his defence minister added four more Palestinians to the list of political prisoners held without charge or trial.

Furthermore, the day that Peres arrived in Israel four more Palestinians – a dentist, a journalist and two unionists – were arrested and told that they were to be permanently deported from their homeland.

Palestinians in the occupied territories are not convinced of Peres' peaceful intentions. His plan conspicuously lacks many elements normal to the process of making peace between enemies.

The plan not only ignores the Palestinians' legitimate representative – the PLO – but it contains nothing even remotely enticing for the Palestinians.

Though we in the Middle East are used to rambling political rhetoric, we are saddened to see that Western governments seem to be convinced by it. Let us remind those politicians who are repeatedly slapping one another on the back for mouthing 'peaceful' platitudes: actions speak louder than words.

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PLO: Integral Part of Palestinian People

by Maher Abukhater

One thing Israel, the United States and Western Europe seem unable to understand regarding the Middle East conflict is that the PLO is an integral part of the Palestinian people. Israel and the US, and to a certain extent Western Europe, are currently leading a campaign to discredit the PLO hoping to undermine its role in determining the future of the Palestinian people. At the same time both governments are vigorously talking about 'Palestinian' participation in possible future talks. The 'Palestinians' these two countries are talking about are West Bank and Gaza Palestinians they will approve of.

Not denying that the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians have the right to be involved in any peace talks, they nevertheless remain only one-fourth of the total Palestinian population. The other three-fourths live in the diaspora. For this reason, a negotiating Arab team including Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza only cannot be truly representative of the Palestinian people.

This, however, is not the issue. What governments opposed to PLO participation in peace talks should know is that no sound person in the Israeli-occupied West Bank or Gaza will be willing to take part in any talks that the PLO leadership does not approve of. This is not because the PLO 'intimidates' people here, as Israeli propagandists claim. It simply means that the PLO is recognised by a very large percentage of the Palestinian people as their representative and the only party entitled to make decisions on their behalf. The PLO, in all its institutions, is the only independent and organised body through which the Palestinians can transmit their thoughts, dreams and aspirations. As any legitimate government, the PLO survives as long as the Palestinian masses wish for it to. This privilege was granted to the PLO years ago making it one of the most popular revolutionary movements in the world.

The legitimacy and popularity of the PLO was proven more than once. The simple fact that the PLO's popular base is stronger in the refugee camps gives it the legitimacy it wants considering that the camps house close to two million refugees. After all, the PLO's military force has come mainly from the refugee camps and their bases built in the camps outside the occupied territories.

More proof can be seen in past Israeli attempts to create an organised West Bank and Gaza group capable of speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people. One such group was the so-called 'Village League' intended to form its power base from the villages where more than 60 percent of the Palestinians live or hail from. This experiment, which was initiated in the early 1980s, proved to be a major failure in Israeli policy in the occupied territories. No decent Palestinian joined the 'League' or even wanted his name associated with it. Most of those who joined it were losers and castouts, criminals and sellouts. The rest of the Palestinian population strongly opposed it and expressed their unwielding support for the PLO.

When Palestinians in the occupied territories were given the rare opportunity to cast a vote in mayoral races in 1976, blocs which ran on tickets openly supporting the PLO political line won an overwhelming majority. The only way Israel was able to undo this victory of the PLO was to dismiss the mayors in 1982 and to ban any further election in the West Bank. Israel's ban on new elections was a result of clear worry that its contention that West Bank and Gaza Palestinians do not support the PLO would be a proven fallacy.

The Palestinians in the occupied territories and the disapora have sacrificed a great deal to get the PLO to its present level. Many have spent years in prison or lost a loved one in the long fight to preserve the PLO as the Palestinians' only representative. Even the internal disagreements between Palestinian factions were the result of deep concern over the future role of the PLO. These disagreements, which at times reached the point of armed clashes, were not waged to destroy the PLO but to make sure that it would continue to function for the interest of the Palestinian masses.

The West Bank and Gaza have credible Palestinians who can act on behalf of the people. And Israel, the US and other governments may agree to these Palestinians as members of a joint Arab or Palestinian-Jordanian team taking part in peace negotiations. But one thing is certain and that is unless the PLO gives the green light to these people to play such a role they will never do so. The reason is simple, these possible negotiators will need the backing of an established body if they are to make any gains in the negotiations. And that established body cannot be other than the PLO which is trusted to work for a bright and honourable Palestinian future.

Experience has taught the Palestinians that Israel will employ all its skills to gain as much as possible from negotiations while forcing the other parties to conceed everything they have. Therefore hard bargaining is expected to take place at the negotiating table and only the PLO can act on an equal footing with the Israeli team if the negotiations are to be balanced. ■

Maher Abukhater is a member of Al Fajr's *staff.*

No Amman Agreement Means No PLO in Jordan

by Ziad Abu Zayyad

Some Palestinian voices call from time to time for a democratic dialogue to be initiated and maintained among the various Palestinian factions on the basis of cancelling or freezing the Amman agreement between the PLO and Jordan.

Some people may think after hearing such calls that the Amman agreement is an obstacle or hindrance impeding progress towards the restoration of unity among the Palestinian factions. They may at first believe that the agreement hinders the activation of all the PLO institutions in a manner that would safeguard and preserve the achievements of the Palestinian people's struggle. They may also believe that the joint accord is an obstacle to the continuation of the march to achieve our aims for freedom and self-determination. They are wrong.

The question is: what does the cancellation of the Amman agreement really mean? The answer is: the cancellation of the agreement means an end to Palestinian presence in Jordan and the freezing of efforts to achieve a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

Jordan is the only available territorial extension to the occupied territories. Thus, the PLO needs to be in direct contact with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza through Jordan for political coordination, dissemination of information and transfer of money for the strengthening of the national struggle. No one, including those who demand the abolition of the Amman agreement, can ignore the great risks of cancelling the Palestinian presence in Jordan and the negative impact of such a cancellation on the residents of the occupied territories on one hand and the Palestinian cause on the other.

The maintenance of the agreement may also lead to restored relations with Syria. The recent signs of reconciliation between Syria and Jordan should be seen for their possibilities of Palestinian-Jordanian-Syrian coordination. This triple alliance is the cornerstone of any military confrontation with Israel as well as any peace efforts. Those who want to create a new split between Jordan and the PLO at the very time time that there are signs of an old split between Jordan and Syria being bridged, are weakening the Palestinian cause. More divisions and splits will only lead us to more weakness and humiliation. Restoring unity to the ranks of the PLO as well as our Arab neighbours is an urgent demand of the Palestinian masses.

"IF SUCH A SYRIAN – JORDANIAN – PALESTINIAN ALLIANCE IS MAINTAINED NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO FORCE JORDAN INTO A UNILATERAL AGREEMENT."

Ziad Abu Zayyad

We, in the occupied territories, look forward to the full implementation of the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement on one hand and the enlargement of it in the context of a Palestinian Jordanian-Syrian agreement on the other. If such an alliance is maintained no one will be able to force Jordan into a unilateral agreement with Israel or try to ignore the PLO or push it aside for its main role as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and the attentive guardian of the Palestinian national rights. At the same time, an enlargement of that agreement to include Syria would block the way of any efforts to isolate Syria and to achieve an imposed settlement based on submission.

If restoring good relations between Syria and Jordan is a vital necessity, no one should think that such restoration would be at the expense of this or that faction of the Palestinian revolution. Let us all hope for a Syrian-Jordanian reconciliation as a step towards Palestinian-Jordanian-Syrian coordination which would also open the way for Iraq. This would put an end to the sad division and splits which our Arab nation has suffered from over the past years.

Achieving this means that we have put our feet on the right track. Our influence on development will become something that no one can cast doubt upon or ignore. ■

Ziad Abu Zayyad is a Jerusalem attorney and journalist.

Arafat Should Break Amman Agreement, Return to Fold

by Ibrahim Dakkak

Recent events including the incursion on the PLO offices in Tunisia, the American air piracy of the Egyptian plane, followed by the Jordanian justification of British arrogance towards the PLO has left the PLO leadership with the feeling that they were lost after they joined the Hussein-Mubarak orchestra.

It is no wonder that as a result of these dizzying events that Arafat would find himself confused. After all it was indeed Arafat who at one point was seen holding up the gun and putting down the olive branch in Tripoli, then holding up the branch and putting down the gun in Cairo. It was indeed the same Arafat who signed the Amman agreement only two years after the signing of the strategic agreement between the United States and Israel following the cancellation of the May 17 agreement between Israel and Lebanon, and the attempt at drawing a new political map in the Middle East in which Israel would occupy an advanced "imperialistic position."

"ARAFAT'S PERSISTENT ATTACHMENT TO THE AMMAN AGREEMENT MEANS HIS WILLINGNESS TO GET ANYTHING WHATEVER MINIMAL FROM AMERICA..."

Ibrahim Dakkak

Arafat and his PLO leadership should take off their rose-coloured glasses. He should have known that the Americans and their satellite regimes are colour-blind. They do not differentiate between the red lines of the people's national rights and the green lines by which the cooperation among peoples is permitted.

The persistent attachment of the present PLO leadership to the Amman agreement in the light of King Hussein's declarations at the United Nations and the US Congress and his justification of the British government's arrogance has but one meaning which is the willingness of this leadership to get anything whatever minimal from this American 'festival.'

The recent statement of Arafat and those who express his line in support of the Amman agreement invokes doubt as to its connotations and seriousness. It is but a cover for their disappointment and the failure of their official policy in the aftermath of Beirut.

The incursion on the PLO offices in Tunis, the hijacking of the Egyptian plane and the refusal of US President Reagan to apologise to his friend President Mubarak all carry one meaning expressed by Peres' statement after his meeting with King Hussein in London and after his meeting with President Reagan at the White House that he was confident that the king had decided to follow the 'peace operation' without the PLO. His majesty was not critical of this Israeli contention and did not deny his meeting with Peres. On the contrary he declared his willingness to review the agreement signed by him and Arafat last February.

The reorganisation in Lebanon, the recent Syrian-Jordanian talks, King Hussein's statements and the insistence of Bourqeba on the necessity of moving the PLO premises out of Tunis all put few alternatives in front of the official leadership of the PLO. The new impasse may lead to a new and yet more dangerous split within the PLO unless the matter is tackled with wisdom. The PLO cannot go on over-extending itself in different parts of the world and circumstances do not allow it to remain on board an aeroplane flying from one Arab capital to another. It is irrational to think of settling in a spaceship away from the Palestinian people and their worries.

Considering all that, it has become necessary as a first step to depart from the method of handling with a superior air the opinion of the Palestinian masses and their willingness to fight the philosophy of Camp David and its results. This is the first step towards the redirection of the PLO to its line of struggle, if the leadership's attempts are sincere.

The return of the PLO to its line of struggle simply means to get rid of the governmental-like luxury features, bureaucracy and the return to the masses to inspire its conscience, interest and rights.

Since we are willing to bear some of the responsibility, we say: "Sir, the allies you chose without the consent of the Palestinian people are the ones who are seeking to be your heirs and to put down the gun and the olive branch together and to lift the flag of surrender instead. We assure you that the train of national unity is the only one that leads to the rights of the Palestinian people and that it is not yet too late." ■

Ibrahim Dakkak is the head of the West Bank Engineers Union.

US Congressman Swims Against Pro-Israeli Stream

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, D.C., D.C. Correspondent

"The automatic response... is to support anything the Israelis do."

That is in the White House, US State Department and US Congress says Mervyn Dymally, one of six black congressmen who were recently the only representatives of the American government to express outrage at Israel's bombing of the PLO in Tunisian territory. The six sent an official letter to US President Ronald Reagan and with the letter took at least a neutral stand on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In an interview with *Al Fajr*, the California democrat said that Israel does not really want peace. Nor do some members of the US Congress, he said, who seem to serve as mere rubberstamps for Israeli policy.

Very few members of Congress are willing to openly state their support for the Palestinian cause. Those who do find themselves at odds with the pro-Israeli norm on Capitol Hill. And to be at odds with the majority over the issue of peace in the Middle East – as former Senators James Abourezk, Charles Percy and Paul Findley may attest – can be a prescription for disaster. They, as well as others like them, lost their seats in Congress due to their conviction that there is indeed another side to the Middle East conflict.

Congressman Dymally, while half joking about the possible consequences of his position on the conflict, said that both his background and his conscience dictate that he do "what is right," rather than "what is popular." Dymally's background includes very active support for the struggle for civil and human rights in the United States. He is known to have championed such "unpopular causes as the Reverend Moon, [and] the Black Muslims." He is also known for his support in the past of the Black Panthers and Eldridge Cleaver. He thus feels it is only natural that he would also back the demands of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

The energetic and obviously self-assured Dymally feels he has maintained a consistent stand against all foreign invasions of independent states including, of course, the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In fact he was one of a few members of the House of Representatives to publicly oppose the invasion. After a visit to the region, he proposed sending Lebanon extra emergency funds to help its people following the 1982 war.

At the same time, Dymally takes pride in the fact that he was also "deeply involved in the Israel Must Live movement," when he was California's lieutenant governor. He still expresses "support for the independence and integrity of the state of Israel" but adds immediately that "with the same amount of commitment and passion and emotion, I believe that the Palestinian cause has to be addressed." Dymally has criticised what he sees as the inconsistency of the Democratic Party which leads it to have one policy toward the Middle East while having another and totally different one for the rest of the world. His consistent stand, however, was "born out of a commitment to fair play... which started in my home country of Trinidad, for West Indian independence," he said.

Dymally's stand on the Middle East has often been criticised and "some of my critics in the Jewish community have said that I sold out for Arab money." With an expression of disbelief, he said, "If you examine my campaign record, you'd see that there is a paucity of Arab contributions to my campaign." Dymally says his reason for supporting the rights of Palestinians is "that the cause of the Palestinians is a just one." An end to the violence in the Middle East he believes, will only occur when Palestinians achieve self-determination and a homeland.

Mervyn Dymally: **The US should talk to the PLO.**

His opinions, he admits, have been sometimes costly. "I have lost all of my Jewish organisational support." However, "individual Jews continue to understand my position, support it and support me very strongly."

Blind Support

Dymally and the other five black American congressmen who protested Reagan's immediate justification of Israel's air raid on Tunis demanded that the White House investigate as to whether Israel had violated American law under which it is provided with American weapons. Dymally said Reagan's reaction was simply "the popular thing to do." According to the democrat, "There is an automatic response in this Congress, in the White House, in the State Department to support anything and everything that Israel does. It is a Pavlovian response."

Dymally said the attack on the PLO offices in Tunis caused the death of innocent people, among other things. Yet Israel wasn't criticised and the US abstained from voting on a United Nations resolution deploring the bombing. On Capitol Hill, he said, "Israel is an infallible state and what Israel wants, Israel gets."

As to the likelihood that Israel may be found in violation of American agreements governing the use of American weapons, Dymally said that Israel has done it before and nothing happened. Therefore, he said, nothing will now. "It is a waste of time even raising the issue with the authorities... because they are not going to do anything about it." This reality saddens the democrat for it signals to him a lack of interest in peace by some in Congress. He referred to some members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee as "the greatest obstructionists to the peace process," along with the Israeli Likud party and radical Palestinians.

Though not hopeful that the current peace process will produce anything tangible, the democratic representative said that "the chances for peace... under a Republican administration are much better than under a Democratic one." Because President Reagan is a lame-duck president and because the Jewish community's ties to the Republican party are not as profound, he can move, said Dymally, using his position and popularity to advance the cause of peace.

Dymally believes that there should be a "halt, a moratorium on all violence." Continued acts of violence, he said, may weaken King Hussein's hand, in addition to causing setbacks in the peace process as well as bad publicity. Americans, he said, are confused about the various factions of the PLO and thus view all fighters as "terrorists." Dymally said that he was "deeply moved" by the death of Leon Klinghoffer, the elderly American apparently killed by Palestinian hijackers aboard the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. But, "I haven't seen any outpouring of sympathy for the innocent Palestinians and Tunisians who were killed" in the Israeli bombing of PLO offices in Tunis, he said. The PLO and the Arab world must understand that there is such a double standard and must learn to work within that context, he said.

The Worst Time

Congressman Dymally believes that the US should talk to the PLO, but he believes the timing is not yet appropriate considering the recent *Achille Lauro* affair and its effect on American pubic opinion. He said that were the issue brought up two months ago or even two months hence, the answer would be that one cannot discuss the Palestinian question without the PLO. But we must wait and see, he said.

The best solution now to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Dymally believes, is the February 11 agreement between Arafat and King Hussein. Though, he says, "It has a little taste of Bantustand in it." He admits that this solution is not the ideal one, but in politics, he said, one doesn't always get the full cake. Palestinian rights have to be addressed, he continued, otherwise peace cannot be achieved in that part of the world.

Arabs Could Do More

Although the Arab-American community is making its presence felt in the US, specifically on Capitol Hill, Arab governments could certainly do more, particularly in aiding black American businesses, said the congressman. Dymally, conscious of the role that an effective lobby can play in favour of a particular cause, praised the "coming of age" of the Arab community in the US. He explained that the presence of recognised representatives of a community on Capitol Hill can directly affect the issue they are promoting.

He acknowledged that the Arab community in the US "picked up that theme with the Jesse Jackson campaign, and, to their credit," he added, "they were deeply involved." On the other hand, he said that the Arab governments have "missed the boat." The wealthy Arab governments need to invest in programmes that are responsive to the needs and aspirations of minorities in the US, such as providing loans through a corporation for building houses or helping private black universities by establishing special funds, he said. The Arab governments, he noted, "give large sums of money to the big Ivy League colleges, which turn around and produce scholars that criticise them."

Dymally said that the 30 million black Americans are a significant force, "and don't pretend that we don't exist." The message that the Arab heads of states are not getting, he said, is that once the politeness of an official meeting with corporate America is over within which each of them may have been called 'Sir' or 'Your Excellence' – "in the final analysis, you are nothing [to them] but an Arab." ■

Where Do We Go From Here?

West Bank Analysts Re-Assess PLO Strategy

by Kate Rouhana

As often happens in the Middle East, a frenzied spiral of events took on a life of its own in the last few weeks and, after a rapid-fire series of random developments had played itself out, the major actors found themselves faced with a new reality that could not have been foreseen from the outset. Each hurried to blame one of the other actors for cooking up some highly sophisticated conspiracy and engineering the new status quo from beginning to end. It is exactly weeks like these, experienced with periodic regularity in the region, that make the 'conspiracy theory game' such a popular pastime among Middle Easterners.

The major loser of this round was the PLO, after a bungled hijack gave Israel an unexpected bonanza in the Arab-Israeli war of words, and the British broke off talks with the Palestinian members of the joint delegation because Mohammed Milhem refused to sign a statement affirming Israel's right to exist. In light of these setbacks, *Al Fajr* asked West Bank academics and

NUSSEIBEH:
"IF THE KING MOVES ON HIS OWN, HE WILL IMMEDIATELY BE OPPOSED IN THE WEST BANK BY THE MAJORITY OF POLITICALLY ACTIVE GROUPS...

professionals to analyse the situation and assess the long term implications of the PLO's diplomatic initiative with Jordan options now open to the Palestinians.

Is the initiative an astute and correct political strategy that is now being sabotaged by other parties who are afraid to see it succeed? Or was it a mistake, doomed to fail from the outset, for a revolutionary movement to attempt to deal with the United States and Israel when the balance of power is so clearly in their favour? Is unity among Palestinian ranks and in the Arab world a necessary prerequisite for any attempt to reach a settlement with Israel? Or is time so clearly running out that reaching a settlement is worth any price, including division? Has the PLO been focusing on the right priorities, and what should be its strategy for the coming year?

Mohammed Shadid, a professor of political science at Najah University, explained that the PLO had no choice but to join forces with Jordan, although the joint initiative, in his eyes, is based on different interpretations of the Amman Agreement. The PLO has to put greater emphasis on diplomatic moves and initiatives than on the military aspects of the struggle because it has no base contiguous to the occupied territories from which it could operate militarily. The political movement towards peace in the area imposed itself on the PLO; the PLO had to take a position. I think it's a correct position; the PLO should remain in the picture by any means.

"The Jordanian-Palestinian initiative was an inevitable process. But there are basic differences between Jordan and the PLO in the interpretation of the Amman Agreement. My feeling is that the initiative was doomed from the beginning because of the differences in the interpretation and the approach to the resolution of the Palestinian question."

According to Shadid, this difference revolves around the procedural details of negotiations with Israel. "Jordan sees negotiations with the US leading to direct negotiations with Israel. After an agreement reached through direct negotiations with Israel, then an international conference can serve as an umbrella for an agreement. As I understand it, the PLO interprets the agreement as saying that there will be no direct negotiations with Israel. Direct negotiations with the US, yes. With Israel, only through an international conference in which all parties participate. This is a basic difference.

"If any movement takes place on the issue of negotiations, I see a collapse of the Amman Agreement. The PLO leadership can't go beyond that — this is the mandate it has from the PNC. If the PLO goes further to the Jordanian position, the PLO would lose much more than they would gain in terms of support in the occupied territories and among the Palestinian population. If the PLO agrees to hold direct negotiations with Israel without prior commitment from Israel to recognition of both the PLO and the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, it will not get the support of people in the occupied territories. And this is something Israel absolutely will not do. The end results of this agreement, then, are clear."

Dr. Shawqi Harb, a heart surgeon from Ramallah, basically concurs on the inevitability of close cooperation with Jordan at this juncture. "I personally think that some kind of an arrangement should be made between the Palestinians and Jordan, because the closest country to the occupied territories is Jordan. I cannot imagine a peace treaty without coordination and synchronisation. In the aftermath of Lebanon, this Jordanian-Palestinian initiative was the only thing they could have done."

Dr. Harb also thinks that the initiative was problematic, but for a different reason. "I always thought this was the wrong time for a Jordanian-Palestinian initiative because there is no unified Arab front or Israeli front, for that matter. In retrospect — and it's easy to say that now — things have not worked because there is no united front on either side."

Sari Nusseibeh, a professor of philosophy at Bir Zeit University and editor of the new Arabic weekly *Al Mawqif*, takes a different view of the initiative. He thinks it was both necessary and desirable and, because he defines the goals of the initiative differently, he does not see it as doomed to fail.

"The fear was always that Israel and the US will impose a settlement which in no way satisfies the Palestinian demands. The chances of reaching a settlement which would satisfy these demands were always seen as very dim, given the positions of the US and Israel and the balance of power. By asserting itself in the peace process, the PLO attempted to utilise what was regarded as an on-going process to the advantage of the Palestinians, as much as this is possible. By doing this, the aim was either to block the imposition of a settlement which would be favourable only to Israel, or to achieve a settlement which would be favourable to the Palestinians as well. Given the balance of power, the chances of achieving the second objective have always been dim. However, I feel that the first objective has been so far achieved.

"The events of the last few weeks, which signal a possible rupture in relations between the PLO and Jordan, can lead to a nullification of the achievement of even the first objective. If Jordan frees itself from the PLO, then the objective of blocking the imposition of an anti-Palestinian settlement will be harder to secure. Therefore, from a Palestinian point of view, it is necessary that Arafat at this juncture holds on as strongly as possible to Jordan. Whether the second objective can ever be secured

SHADID:
"IF THE PLO GOES FURTHER TO THE JORDANIAN POSITION, IT WILL LOSE MUCH MORE THAN IT WILL GAIN IN TERMS OF SUPPORT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES...

RAMALLAH PROFESSOR:

"Arafat enraged Syria unnecessarily and embraced Hussein too closely"

is a matter that rests with the world community and that can only be settled if the differences between the US and the USSR are resolved."

There is another point of view that dismisses the notion that the Jordanian-Palestinian intiative in its present format was either timely or even inevitable. Sa'eb Erakat, a professor of political science and the public relations director at Najah University, puts it this way: "The Jordanian-Palestinian initiative was too fast and premature.

"The PLO suffered a major setback in 1982 and we just can't shift strategy from confrontation [to reconciliation]. As a response to the 1982 invasion, we have a political initiative? That's ridiculous. You can't build strategy in response to something. Strategy should be built in accordance with the variables that interact in the Arab-Israeli conflict. We as Palestinians are only one variable. How strong are we Palestinians to impose our solution of an independent Palestinian state amidst all these variables? We're not strong enough. Our strength is derived from unity in the PLO — it's so essential. I think it's the only strong card we possess anymore."

Another West Bank professor from Ramallah who prefers not to be identified, also criticises the initiative along the same lines. "I think it was wrong to do it in this form at this time. It allows the US and Israel to use the internal disputes in the PLO and the Arab world. Then too, the balance of power would never have accommodated any substantial US concessions in favour of the Palestinians. The mood in the US, especially Congress, is heavily in favour of Israel. The USSR is completely involved with the star wars programme and negotiating nuclear arms reductions with the US. The EEC is in no position to take any independent initiative on the Middle East.

"This whole atmosphere allowed Israel to use the terrorism issue to camouflage the fact that it is not willing to make territorial concessions. And the balance of power is unfavourable — not only in East-West relations and the Arab world, but also in Israel itself. The position of the Labour Party is so precarious that it has to heed Likud rejectionists all the time. Both the Israeli and the Arab fronts currently have the wrong balance of power to ask parity in any future negotiations.

"After Lebanon," the professor continued," the PLO and Arafat's wing, Fatah, having given up the armed struggle option, had little choice but to engage in a diplomatic initiative. In general it's correct to engage in diplomatic initiatives at all times, but one has to play it well. I'm not sure if Arafat has played it well. He enraged Syria unnecessarily and embraced Hussein too closely. Had he kept his options open with the Arab world, he might have been able to do a better balancing act."

Abd al-Sattar Qassem, an associate professor of political science at Najah University, considers alliance with any Arab government a mistake on the part of the PLO. "Dialectically, we as Palestinians should try to adopt a revolutionary approach in the Middle East instead of trying to have the support of Arab governments who are in one way or another reflective of the interests of the imperialist states, especially the US. The PLO under Yasser Arafat has made a very grave mistake. That mistake is symbolised in the PLO political approach and its quest for a solution to the Palestinian dilemma. Such an approach, as we see historically, leads only to the destruction of the PLO which we are seeing at the present time. Jordan, the UK, US, Israel, and Egypt — who profess to be friends of the Palestinians — are aiming at the destruction of the PLO, because it represents the people who, as long as they have an identity, will try by all means to liberate their own land. If they dismantle the PLO, they will dismantle the Palestinian identity, and they will have a free hand to solve the Palestinian problem the way they like. That is in the interests of the Israelis, the Arab regimes and the US."

According to Qassem, "Arafat has been wrong for the last three years. He is cultivating the fruits of his mistakes now. If Arafat is seeking the achievement of Palestinian aspirations, he should keep the PLO revolutionary. Now it's not a revolutionary organisation; it's a political organisation that seeks a solution through political or diplomatic channels. By revolutionary, I mean armed resistance. Israel and the West do not understand any other language. Armed resistance is called terrorism in the West. A revolutionary organisation would not ally with the Arab government but with the people."

Given these assessments of the past and present, where does that mean the PLO will or should go in the coming year? The six analysts have varying conceptions of what should happen. Qassem believes that "because we have so many enemies, we should go underground. We should not have forces that can be seen by the Israeli planes or the Arab armies. Because once we are seen we will be destroyed. This mistake began after 1974 — we started to be like any other Arab army. We built a conventional army which was easily defeated by the Israelis."

Shadid agrees: "If the Jordanian alternative collapses — and the indication of this future collapse is what happened in London with the joint delegation — the PLO will have to go underground. There will be serious reconsideration of the entire organisation and its operational process. Priorities and emphases have to change. A much greater emphasis has to be placed on the people in the occupied territories, as well as the activation of Palestinians in the other Arab countries.

"I expect," Shadid continued, "that if the PLO goes underground, it will start acts of violence against Israeli and American targets, in the Middle East and outside the Middle East, and even against some Arab states. I foresee a greater instability in the Arab states.

"The next move for the PLO should be to try to reconcile and heal the rift between the PLO factions. Unfortunately Syria is playing a major role in hindering this process. There should be greater pressure put on Syria by its friends to reconcile, and the PLO should improve relations with Syria."

Unity is also of paramount importance for Erakat: All Palestinian factions should sit down, evaluate the past three years, and set priorities according to Palestinian interests wherever they are.

"The year 1986-1987 is a major challenge for the PLO," Erakat thinks. "Israel will move before the end of this year to have autonomy. The US will back it. The world will deal with realities later. I wouldn't be surprised to see many Arab governments respond silently to such a move. Another possibility is that Syria and Jordan might reconcile. The PLO needs to devise a strategy that would be able to respond to the outcome of such options. Overall, the PLO leadership — all the factions — should realise that the only framework that reminds Palestinians of their political identity, wherever they are, is the PLO.

The Ramallah professor also thinks unity is very important, but perhaps no longer feasible. "There is great strength for the PLO in unity. Then enemies can't use the splits and play one group against another. But practical and ideological differences among the factions may have gone too far for real unity to be achieved." Another priority, this professor thinks, is the West Bank and Gaza. "The PLO should always have a central role to play in the occupied territories. This is where the future Palestine will be. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are part and parcel of the future of the Palestinians and they have a central role to play; they are not pawns."

Nusseibeh, by contrast, does not regard unity as an important objective. "In order to survive at all, the PLO has to cope with the changing circumstances in which it exists. It if spends most of its energy on unifying factions, it may soon find itself swept away by the movement of events. But the PLO should always stay on top of developments.

"To my mind, unity is not an objective. The objective is the assessment of how precisely to arrive at a formula whereby one can obtain, through struggle, the minimum desirable objective of the Palestinians, i.e. independence. This the PLO can do by assessing where it has bungled militarily, and how best to encourage economic development in the West Bank. The PLO has to purify itself

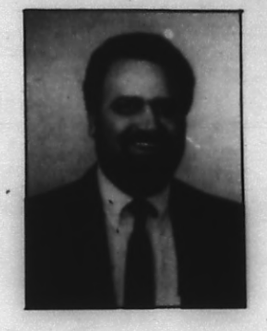
QASSEM:
"BECAUSE WE HAVE SO MANY ENEMIES, WE SHOULD GO UNDERGROUND. ONCE WE ARE SEEN WE WILL BE DESTROYED...

- the leadership has to change, and new blood should be brought in."

On this last point, Erakat agrees. "We can't blame individuals for our defeats and failure. We must look deep into the structure of the Arab world and the Palestinians."

Harb echoes this sentiment: "Our problem is that we the Arabs don't know how to play either the game of peace or the game of war. The Arab world is so divided that whether it comes to peace or war, we have no credibility with the Israelis."

Will Jordan break off from the PLO and go into negotiations with Israel alone? The almost unanimous answer is no. Harb thinks it's "almost impossible for Jordan to go alone in the peace process." Erakat doubts "that Jordan can be Egypt — Jordan doesn't have the



ERAKAT:
"PALESTINIAN UNITY IS THE ONLY STRONG CARD WE POSSESS ANYMORE...

elements that Egypt has." Shadid thinks that "Hussein may strike an understanding with Israel that everything would remain quiet; they would not invade or cause disturbances in Jordan. But Jordan won't enter peace negotiations alone, simply because of the slim chances of Israel giving them anything. If Jordan is going to go down, it wants to go down with the PLO and maintain political credibility."

Nusseibeh thinks the chances are 50-50, but sees West Bank public opinion being solidly against such a move. "It's not accurate to assess in practical terms that the people in the West Bank are ready for any salvation. If the king moves on his own, he will immediately be opposed in the West Bank by the majority of the politically active groups, including the groups that support Arafat and the PLO. The opposition of these groups will dominate the political scene in the same way as they have done throughout Palestinian history. Because while it may be true that the silent majority may in theory opt for Hussein's intervention, in practice the silent majority is powerless and has proved to be throughout Palestinian history. The only people who will support Hussein are his traditional supporters [Rashad] Shawwa, [Elias] Freij, [Anwar] Khatib, maybe [Thafer] al-Masri. But they have no support from the masses.

"In my experience," Nusseibeh continues, "the real political activity in the West Bank takes place through group, not individual action. The involvement of one or another individual doesn't matter. There's a whole political understructure that can be activated at any time if people sense the dangers that are coming. If the king moves ahead, he will be faced by the entire spectrum of political activists in the West Bank. They will form one front and constitute a formidable force."

Only Qassem thinks Hussein is likely to move alone. "Historically Hussein is an enemy of the Palestinians. He will have a solution with the Israelis — maybe he will have his flag over al-Aqsa and say 'we liberated the land.' He will lie to the people. But actually Israel will stay here militarily. Maybe he will have access to Nablus but not to the rest of the West Bank. Israel will never give up Jerusalem, Tulkarm, Hebron, Qalqilya, the mountains in Jenin and Hebron. We might have autonomy under the name of Jordan, and a certain kind of access to certain areas only, but militarily the Israelis will have control over the West Bank."

As for the long term future, most of the six Palestinians interviewed do not think that King Hussein's claim that "this is the last chance for peace" holds water. Qassem terms it "stupidity" and thinks the conflict "may take 100 years to resolve." Shadid thinks that it is only five minutes past midnight if "you rule out all other options that are your right to use, as provided by international law. If you do not rule out the use of force — whether economic, political or military, then you have more time. King Hussein may have given up this right [to use force] but the Palestinians have not."

Both Erakat and the Ramallah professor also dismiss the idea that this is the last noment for peace. "There will always be time," says Erakat. "When the US and Israel realise that the Palestinian people have national rights, time is there. Before that, time will be running out on both the Arabs and the Israelis alike, because each will try to bolster its capacity to inflict suffering on the other."

"It's not clear to me," says the Ramallah professor, "why this is the 'last chance for peace.' It's not clear why if we have 10 more [Israeli] settlements, which we can't have anyway because of the economic crunch, it makes a difference. Paper confiscation of land is also irrelevant. It is the wrong time to negotiate, because the extremists are in power in Israel. People might say the Israelis will only get more extremist with time. But I think that will do more harm to Israel than to the Arab-Israeli negotiations. Of course, time has meaning. One should not say we can stay this way forever. But to say that one has only a few months leads one to make hasty decisions."

Nusseibeh sees time running out for the possibility of having a separate Palestinian state, but this does not depress him. "Personally I think that the time for establishing a Palestinian state on the West Bank will run out within the next four or five years. I feel that the circumstances can never be as propitious for a division or partition of Palestine as they are at this moment. The state in which you can ask for partition may soon be overcome by another stage where the PLO can return to its claim for the whole of Palestine since from a practical point of view advocating partition didn't change anything anyway. So we might as well give up the concession of two states and go back to the claim of a secular democratic state and return for all Palestinians who were kicked out of the country.

"Inside the occupied territories, people can speed up the process by clamouring for equal rights in the state of Israel. Because being annexed to Israel might be a lot better than autonomy. This will mean that you can have two separate strategies — a PLO and Arab strategy for the diaspora, which will advocate a democratic-secular state, and inside, people can speed up the process by pursuing the policy of being annexed and given equal rights in the state.

"Of course the Israelis aren't going to give us equal rights, but we can stage protests like they do in South Africa. Since people are interested in giving us rights we will ask for them properly. The Israelis don't want to give us a state, or the land, so they must give us equal rights within their own state." ■

DR. HARB:

"The Arab world is so divided that we have no credibility with the Israelis in peace or war"

Israeli Left Moves to the Right

by Meron Benvenisti/*HaAretz*

Anyone wishing to consider the nature of the values system prevalent in the Jewish population *vis-a-vis* the Arab population would do well to disregard the violence of the street, put aside the gloomy predictions of the spread of Kahanism, and concentrate on the actions and statements of the opinion-makers — the politicians, intellectuals, and columnists — ignoring the extremists of the "national camp" and focusing on the sane, moderate, liberal humanists among them.

The message which emerges from the wave of petitions and proclamations signed by many members of the groups which have arisen to denounce racism and violence, from the fight to hold "joint Jewish-Arab meetings," and from the punishment actions taken in the territories, points — more than the Afula riots — to the drift of the entire system to the right, past humanistic-universal standards. This drift is characterised not so much by the growing relative strength of the nationalist right as by the rightward shift of the entire spectrum of opinion, left, centre, and right. The leftmost position on this spectrum (that which is still considered to be within the realm of the "legitimate") is now located at a point which in any pluralistic and open society would be defined as being to the right of centre.

Take, for example, the petitions published lately in condemnation of violence and racism. Besides the message of "law and order," a classic demand of the "sane" centre, these petitions also carry a message which may be summed up thus: "Treat the Arabs as people; they aren't an inferior race." To its *proponents, this stance appears worthy*, courageous, almost radical. Anywhere else (except South Africa), its very presentation would cause a contemptuous snigger as being too obvious for words. The authors of these petitions believe their position deserves to be heard, since even they feel it is not universally shared. Taking a stand against "racism" is truly an important and noble act — on condition, naturally, that the manifestation being protested has been correctly defined.

One may take leave to doubt this. The expressions of xenophobia and the accompanying ugly stereotypes of the Arab population are the rotten fruit of an inner-communal conflict turned dirty, and of ongoing ethnic, educational, political, and religious discrimination. Ours isn't a racism grounded in a religious or pseudo-scientific philosophy of the separation of races based on the natural superiority of one of the races. If there be elements of racism, such as compulsory membership in a group by virtue of birth, a ban on intergroup marriage, and an institutionalised hierarchical system of superior and inferior status, these aren't the consequence of an apartheid philosophy, but rather the outcome of an historical-political process which has gotten out of hand. One has the sneaking fear that the use of the term "racism" is meant only to create a very low common denominator which *will enable the "Greater Israel" nationalists* to unite with "Peace Now" adherents. Who, after all, isn't against racism? Even in South Africa it is condemned, and apartheid is called "separate development."

Benvenesti: **No Arab has ever yet attained a decision-making administrative post, even in areas affecting his own group.**

The reason for using the term "racism" seems to be that to take meaningful stands calling for concrete action would not win many followers. This is because the "racist" elements in the establishment are in fact winning broad legitimation. If, for example, one were to seek to translate these anti-racist *positions into practical social and political* terms, would all the proclamation-signers be willing to consent to have the principle of human equality also apply to equal individual opportunity for all Israeli citizens, equality in dividing public resources, equality before the law, and the freedom not to define group membership by ethnic origin? A substantial portion of the signers of anti-racism petitions would already stand down at this point, for otherwise how would they reconcile these basic humanist values with their support for discrimination in national insurance allotments and in the allocation of budgets, discriminatory civil laws, and for forced ethnic and religious affiliation?

True, a large group is prepared to apply these humanist principles to the Arab population, too, though only on an individual basis. But collective Arab equality? Granting the right to freely express their communal aspirations, even the right to conduct their affairs as a national Arab minority? Most of the remaining signers will drop out in the transition from recognising personal civil equality to recognising communal, ethnic equality. How else will members of the Labour Party, for example, reconcile this value with their refusal to conduct coalition negotiations with "non-Zionist" parties, with their attempts to dismantle any national Israeli Arab organisation, with an Arab school curriculum which deliberately glosses over any Arab ethnic-national expression, with the control over Muslim religious property, with discrimination against the Arab local councils, and with the fact that no Arab has ever yet attained a decision-making administrative post, even in areas affecting his own group?

There will thus remain only the leftist fringes, both on the boundary of legitimacy and outside it — somewhere between 5-8 percent of the Jewish public, judging by its current Knesset representation. However, in any open, pluralistic society, recognition of these values of civil, political, individual and collective equality — and of the need to ground them in legal and normative frameworks — is the concern of most of the elements in the political spectrum.

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We Must Halt the Advance of Israeli Nazism

by Yossi Melman
Diplomatic Correspondent
for *Davar*

[In his] autobiographical work *Arrow in the Blue* (1952), Arthur Koestler describes the sensations of an educated, thinking, enlightened person living in the twilight of the Weimar Republic, in the 30 months that elapsed between September 14, 1930, when the National Socialist Party increased its strength in the Reichstag by 800 percent (from 12 seats to 107), to January 30, 1933, when the republic's senile president, Von Hindenburg, entrusted the government to "Herr" Hitler. Koestler himself, who then enjoyed considerable prestige as the deputy editor of the largest afternoon paper in the republic and as scientific editor of a newspaper chain, did not stay until the end of the 30 months. He left Germany half a year before the final collapse. But many, indeed most, simply turned a blind eye; they remained until the rise to power of the National Socialist Party and thereafter.

From chance conversations, one could conclude that not a few in Israel are beginning to feel the same way as Koestler did at the time. What should an Israeli like myself do in a period of political decline, moral degeneration and the strengthening of Jewish Hitlerism? Should we be eternal optimists and believe that "it can't happen here"? Should we behave fatalistically and leave our fate to "blind nature"? What shall we say to the generations of the future? That we didn't believe it? That we thought he was an empty clown? Or will our answer resemble what was heard in the Germany of the Third Reich: Nazism had ups and downs, it grew stronger, but it also sustained defeats during the 30 months, and besides, you should remember that 30 months is a long time, and most people, because of the weakness of the human imagination, can't grasp the whole picture. Is that what we'll say? Or should one simply do what Koestler did: get up and go before it's too late, before the gates are bolted shut?

There's no one clear answer to these questions. Every person has the right to act according to his conscience and his worldview. But that's a personal solution. If we want to find a collective public solution, unconventional action is required. Legislative measures aren't enough. Raising the threshold barrier for entering the Knesset isn't sufficient. Most historians agree that one of the reasons for Nazism's rise to power was the weakness of democracy. The Communists fought the Social Democrats, and vice versa. In France, on the other hand, because, *inter alia*, of the lessons drawn from events in Germany, the "Popular Front" was created under Leon Blum and blocked the road of French Fascism. True, history doesn't repeat itself, but as Schopenhauer said, it's the same thing only a bit different.

In other words, in order to curb the thrust forward of Israeli Nazism (and only the duped will refuse to recognise the fact that Meir Kahane's strength is on the rise; the proof lies not only in the pogroms against Arabs in Afula but everywhere: in the marketplace, the taxicab, the movie theatre, everywhere) immediate action must be taken.

To that end all the country's political forces must unite. Not just the left or the liberal centre. The right, too. Just last weekend the press reported that Arik Sharon warned against the danger his party faced from Kahanism. If this awareness is penetrating Likud members, they, along with the other forces, must take part in the creation of a "Popular Front" for the salvation of Israeli democracy.

Instead of trying to placate Kahane, instead of trying to emulate him or to organise in vain attempts to outflank him via the back door (the death penalty for terrorists, for example), it's best to strike at him. Kahane and his followers understand only the language of strength. The rabble that supports him admires power. If they find that against Kach's fist is poised a fist just as clenched, they may be deterred. Against Kahane's gangs it is the duty of all pursuers of democracy in Israel to place militias of their own on the streets. There must be no flinching from this. Neither in the face of a split in the nation nor from civil war. If we are destined to end up in a civil war, we will do well to accustom ourselves to the idea. Acceptance of the notion that only civil war will prevent the disaster may help prevent it.

Thirty months passed between the elections of September 1930 and the day on which Adolf Hitler entered the Office of the Chancellor in Berlin. Another five years went by before the Nuremberg race laws were promulgated and before the pogroms of 'Crystal Night.' Here it could happen a lot faster. There are already buddings of race laws (Kiryat Arba), of "areas free of Arabs" (how would they be called in German — "Arabrein"?) and of "Arabs out." Yesterday Kiryat Arba, today Afula, tomorrow — where?

When Meir Kahane speaks of winning five, six or even 10 Knesset seats, we have to believe him, even if he dreams of being minister of defence. (Translation: Davar, July 29.) ■

Charity Art Show Joins Best of Traditional and Fine Arts

by Lesley Abukhater with Baher Ashhab

What do sheep horns, brightly coloured tablecloths and ceramic tiles have in common?

Nothing, other than all being part of a thoroughly successful art exhibition and sale held recently in East Jerusalem. The Exhibition of Palestinian Fine Arts held at The National Palace Hotel October 25-27 brought together in a most tasteful display the works of such varied local artists as Suleiman Mansour, the painter; Jamal Badr, the specialist in Beduin jewellery; and village women from Bir Zeit, all of whom are experts in traditional Palestinian embroidery.

Sponsored by the International Women's Charity Group, the art show was comprised of Palestinian paintings, ceramics, sculpture, photography, calligraphy, Beduin art and a beautifully designed selection of embroidered handwork. The charitable women, primarily an informal gathering of foreign wives living in the West Bank, organised the exhibition on behalf of the Bir Zeit Women's Charitable Society. All donations, proceeds and a percentage from the sale of the paintings went directly to the Bir Zeit group for use in their health clinic.

Veteran painter Suleiman Mansour once again dominated the exhibit with his grouping of watercolours, all of which were taken from scenes of village life. His prominence at the exhibit was largely due to his reputation as a skilled artist and not to any particular originality of technique or newness of subject matter. Nevertheless, many of those attending came especially to see his work and by midway through the exhibit, four out of five of Mansour's on display were sold.

Other veteran painters such as Isam Badr and Nabil Anani were featured. However, the more striking work came from lesser known artists such as Taleb Dweik and Salah al-Atrash. Dweik was born in Jerusalem and holds a degree in art education from the University of Hilwan in Cairo. He has participated in several exhibitions in Cairo, Amman and the West Bank and Gaza. His paintings, particularly his landscapes with their vibrant colours and pointed, short brush strokes, remind one of the French Impressionists, something rarely seen in contemporary Palestinian art.

Volunteers from the Bir Zeit Women's Charitable Society display local embroidery.

Al-Atrash, also from Jerusalem, is a teacher of Arabic language and art. His abstract reliefs of plaster over oil have been seen in numerous West Bank exhibits though they were new to the Jerusalem area. A little too garish for his gentler Palestinian subject matter, al-Atrash's reliefs were nevertheless intriguing. The most impressive display of his work, however, involved the several pen and ink drawings of individual Palestinians. Several visitors remarked as to the special quality of life he had captured in his portraits.

Other newcomers to Palestinian art were also shown including Faten Toubassi and Taysir Barakat. Toubassi, who only recently graduated with a master's degree in oils from the Soviet Union, has already taken her work to numerous exhibits in the West Bank. Her scenic landscapes painted in a realistic almost impressionistic style showed great promise and proved to be already a welcome addition to local art.

Barakat, who burst on the art scene last year with his Hakawati Theatre exhibit of folkloric imagery and scenes of contemporary life, seemed to run out of steam in this exhibit. The works on display at the charity show were so nondescript they nearly faded into the backdrop. Done in beige, brown and grey, the sketches were so light they were difficult to see and the subjects had nothing of the power and newness of his earlier work.

In contrast, one of the most powerful displays was of artist Vera Tamari's new ceramic wallhangings. Tamari, who specialises in earthenware relief panels and murals, has a degree in Islamic art and architecture from Oxford University. Currently a professor at Bir Zeit University, Tamari is known for her use of motifs from village life and historical Islamic patterns. Her delicate brown, blue and white murals were quickly sold.

Some of the most affordable of the artworks on display were Emile Ashrawi's black and white photographs depicting Palestinians in the occupied territories. Currently a member of the photography unit of UNTSO, Ashrawi has held exhibitions of his work in Jerusalem and in the United States. His striking shots sold for a reasonable US 20 dollars per print.

Other artwork featured included earthenware pots by Isam Badr, Beduin jewellery by Jamal Badr and Arabic calligraphy by Nader Nasser. The Beduin necklaces were fashioned from sheep horns, semi-precious stones, Ottoman coins and metal beads. They ranged in price from US 25-125 dollars. Nasser's calligraphy, an artform very popular in the Arab world, was not among the best Palestine has to offer. However, his use of calligraphy to decorate serving trays and a set of glasses was useful and unique.

Truly the most outstanding part of the charity exhibit was the Palestinian needlework. Five local women's organisations, each managing their own needlework cooperative with women in the surrounding villages, contributed their best works to the display. The five were the Kalandia Cooperative, the Young Women's Muslim Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Ramallah Women's Cooperative and the Bir Zeit Women's Charitable Society. Also on display were a variety of children's handicrafts from the Moravian

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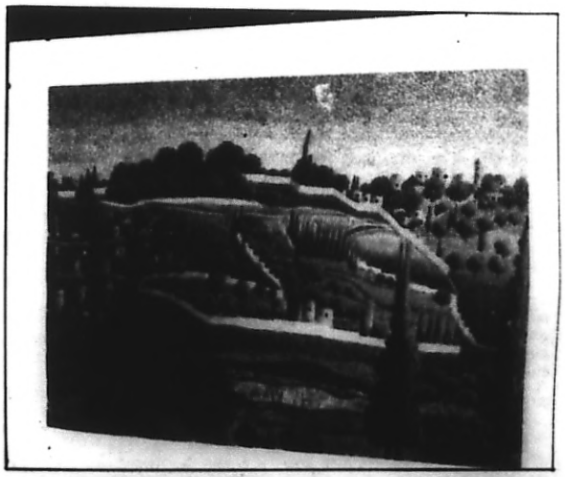
Vera Tamari's ceramic fountain.



Taleb Dweik's Mount of Olives landscape.

The crucial PLO-Jordanian talks and their implications were the main concern of Palestinian newspapers this week.

Al Fajr, *Al Quds* and *Al Sha'ab* all called for the continuation of the joint moves and rquested that they continue based on mutual respect. *Al Mithaq* daily which opposes Yasser Arafat's policies remained silent on the talks choosing to concentrate on recent Israeli moves against Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Peres and the Improvement of Living Conditions

The local press, while talking about the so-called Peres peace initiative, did not deal with the way Peres presented his understanding of autonomy and its relation to the 'improvement' policy presented but not put into practice. Peres sees that the improvement of the living conditions is closely connected with the elimination of 'terrorism,' in the West Bank and Gaza. This means that according to Peres the struggle against 'terrorism' through the 'iron fist' policy is a means of the improvement of the living conditions of the majority of residents. These remarks from Peres were approved and appreciated by the US Secretary of State George Shultz. These slogans about improvement are nothing more than velvet gloves concealing the hardline policy against the oppressed majority. We have realised this for a long time and will not be deceived by it.

AL MITHAQ
October 24

Decisive Options Before the Official Leadership

It is clear that the United States and Israel are trying to exploit the concessions made by those of the joint move to revive Camp David. Whitehead gave Mubarak the option between maintaining his relations with the United States or his relations with the PLO. There were clear signals from the White House to Hussein that the arms deal depends on his response to Peres' initiative. Those people are trying to put the PLO before the choice of being isolated or accepting the required concessions. Despite these reports, Khaled al-Hassan sees that the differences with Jordan are procedural ones and have nothing to do with the Amman agreement. But reality is something else. The Amman accord is but an obstacle. Whether the Jordanian regime chooses to adhere to its agreement with Syria or takes the opposite trend, it will be far away from the Amman acord. This is what the official leadership should take into consideration. It should realise that it cannot remain at the Amman station while its partners are moving. The official leadership should do its best to restore its relations with the Palestinian nationalist forces and its revolutionary allies through its abandoning of the Amman agreement and the joint move approach toward the United States.

AL TALI'A
October 24

Reagan's Speech

In his speech before the UN, Reagan offered to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union regarding regional conflicts which he limited to Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Cambodia and Nicaragua. By doing so, Reagan tries to support the CIA-backed mercenary forces against the revolutionary regimes in those countries. He also tries to legitimise such groups and impose them on the regimes. By omitting the Middle East from the list of regional conflicts, Reagan is asserting his refusal to deal with the Palestinian people's cause and confirms his insistence to strike, liquidate and exclude this people and its leadership. By ignoring the ME crisis, Reagan clearly indicates that he wants to continue to monopolise the efforts which serve the American interests and attempt to dominate the region. And if the American position has expressed itself very clearly through participating in the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis, and in the American air piracy, and in the continued drive against the PLO and the Palestinian people, then Washington and those who support it will eventually discover that any attempt to bypass the Palestinian people and neglect its rights will be doomed to failure.

AL SHA'AB
October 25

Running After Mirage

In his press conference yesterday, Charles Redman, the deputy spokesman of the US State Department, talked about the United States' commitment to help the peace process in the Middle East. We wonder what peace process Redman was referring to, and what peace move was he talking about? The term has become vague. We believe the United States is talking about a peace process outside the context of the Amman agreement and the international conference. It is still running after the mirage of bilateral peace process between Israel and the individual Arab countries. That is why the United States launched a vicious assault on the PLO in an attempt to underestimate the role of the PLO. It seems that the aim of American policy in the Middle East is to exclude the PLO from the political scene. The United States supports every act to physically liquidate the Palestinian leaders. After that the United States runs after the illusion of separate treaties. They do not realise that the Arab countries have learnt their lesson from Sadat's experience.

Jordan asserted its total rejection of such an arrangement. Therefore the United States should abandon its attempts in this direction. What is required from US officials is to specify what they mean by the peace process. The term, as we said, has become vague.

AL QUDS
October 26

Amman Accord and Adherence to Independence

It is not new to say that the Palestinian-Jordanian relations are distinguished and unique. The fateful integration of the two peoples is inseparable. It has been achieved through suffering and common hopes. These relations are not for any regime or organisation. They are for the coming generations. The Amman accord emphasises this common fate of the two peoples. The agreement was meant to coordinate the efforts of the two parties toward a peaceful settlement. Therefore, the PLO has the right to an independent decision. Jordan in particular should not misunderstand the PLO when it shows certain positions stemming from this fact. We sincerely hope that the meeting between Arafat and King Hussein will have important results strengthening the integration between the two peoples.

AL FAJR
October 26

The International Conference

Yasser Arafat renewed yesterday the PLO's rejection of Peres' suggestions and asserted adherence to the international conference. The support of the international conference means the rejection of any separate solution as the United States and Israel want. The PLO together with friendly countries were able to have a UN resolution in support of an international conference which becomes more important in view of Israel's and America's attempts to impose separate settlement.

AL SHA'AB
October 26

36 Palestinians Homeless After House Demolitions

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Thirty-six Palestinians from the Hebron village of Yatta were made homeless after the Israeli army destroyed their homes.

The army destroyed the homes of Ahmad Mahmoud al-Najjar and Mahmoud Musa Abu Snaid October 26 after they reportedly confessed that they belonged to an illegal organisation. They are also said to have confessed to carrying out attacks against an Israeli bus.

Residents of Yatta say that 150 Israeli soldiers were involved in the campaign that was preceded by a two-day curfew and a gruesome house-to-house search. "It looked as if the Israelis were re-occupying our village," said the *mukhtar* of the 35,000-strong village. The mukhtar says that the soldiers took over the local school and used it as a centre for questioning.

Ibrahim al-Jundi, a village resident who witnessed the Israeli action, dismissed the Israeli claim that any arms were discovered in the village. "There is no proof that they found any weapons. The claim was only a pretext to justify their actions," he said.

The house demolitions began at 5:00 pm October 26. Sadiqa al Najjar says that she was alone when the soldiers came to their house. According to Sadiqa, the soldiers told her that her husband had confessed to belonging to an illegal organisation before they started to prepare to destroy the house. "I asked them to wait until the next day so I could remove the furniture, but they refused and started to throw out the furniture destroying most of it," she said. Sadiqa said that the 60 soldiers who came to her house prevented any neighbours or her eldest son from helping out in the removal of the furniture. According to Sadiqa, the soldiers dynamited the four-storey house even before all its contents were removed. Family members are now living in one of the relative's homes. As to the Israeli claims, Sadiqa said that the confession was extracted by force. "In 1983 my husband was released after completing a 12-year prison term. He was sick and spent most of his time in bed. We don't believe that he was able to do anything," she said.

The other house which was bulldozed housed three families, those of a father and his two sons. One of the sons, Issa Mohammed Musa, 22, was arrested August 31 and charged with belonging to an illegal organisation. Musa, who has four children, was also accused of shooting at an Israeli bus.

Naim Musa, his brother, told *Al Fajr* that when the soldiers came no one was home. Soldiers ordered next-door neighbours to close the doors and windows of the house. The 29-member family which has been made homeless has to live in a crowded relative's home. "Our situation is very bad. we cannot even change our clothes because all our clothes are buried under the rubble," said Naim. Naim complained that it will take the family at least six years to rebuild their home, if the Israelis allow it. "Isn't this the biggest crime, to deprive someone of shelter?" he asked while looking at the rubble.

Murdered ADC Official Eulogised in US

US congressmen and representatives of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities addressed a gathering of more than 200 persons who attended a memorial service for slain American-Arab leader Alex M. Odeh in Washington on October 23.

The service at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church was sponsored by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and 21 other Arab and American-Arab organisations.

Odeh, 41, was the first West Coast Regional Director of ADC, an organisation dedicated to eliminating anti-Arab discrimination in the United States. He was killed October 11 in the explosion of a booby-trap bomb planted in the ADC offices in Santa Ana, California. The bomb injured seven other people in adjacent offices. No one has claimed responsibility for it.

The White House issued a statement condemning the assault and rejecting all forms of terrorism in and outside the United States. "To think even for a moment that there exists a justification for such heinous acts does grave injustice to the principles of political freedom upon which this country was founded," it read.

The statement, which also announced that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had been given urgent instructions to investigate the murder and bring the perpetrators to justice, was read to the congregation at the memorial service.

The audience also heard messages of condolences and condemnation sent to ADC by former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy, Representative Mary Rose Oakar, Senator Alan Cranston, and Representative John Conyers, Jr.

The representative of the California district where Odeh lived and worked, Congressman William E. Dannemeyer, and Congressman Nick J. Rahall addressed the audience.

ADC Chairman James Abourezk, a former US senator, charged that Odeh was the victim of a campaign aimed at dehumanising Americans of Arab descent and intimidating anyone engaged in telling "the other side of the story" of the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Let us not be silent by this cowardly act," he said.

Odeh is survived by his wife, Norma, and three daughters.

(USIS News Service.)

Calendar

November 2,3,8,9

Theatre: The Sanabel Theatre group comes back to the theatre with their new play, *General Sir.* In Arabic. At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. 5:30 pm. Telephone: 280957, 288189.

November 6,7

Concert: The British all-women jazz group "The Guest Stars" will perform at the Freres College, Jerusalem at 5:00 pm. Tickets available from the British Council. Telephone: 282545.

November 7

Concert: After long years in exile Mustafa el-Kurd has returned to his birthplace, Jerusalem. He will give a concert at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre. 6:30 pm.

Concert: Organ recital by Oskar Gottlieb Blarr. Works by Schutz, Bach, Tal, Gavriel and others. At the Lutheran Redeemer Church, Jerusalem. 8:30 pm. Telephone: 282543.

EVENTS IN THE US

November 7-10

Convention: The Association of Arab-American University Graduates will hold their 18th annual convention, "New Directions for the Arab World, Arab-Americans and the Palestinian Issue," at the Americana Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. Featured speakers include George Papandreou, Lakhdar Ibrahimi of the Arab League, Abd al-Latif al-Hamad, Shafiq al-Hout, Edward Said, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and many more from the US and the Arab world.

State Department Appoints 'Peace' Ambassador

Despite some Israeli resentment, the United States State Department announced October 29 that it had appointed Wat Cluverius, 40, to be senior adviser to Richard Murphy now currently on a shuttle mission in the Middle East. Cluverius will vacate his post as US Consul General in East Jerusalem which he has held since 1983.

Israeli journalistic sources close to *Al Fajr* said that some Israeli officials were displeased "with the Cluverius appointment whom they say is a "Palestinian sympathiser." They fear he will use his experience in Jerusalem to influence Murphy on issues Israel regards as taboo.

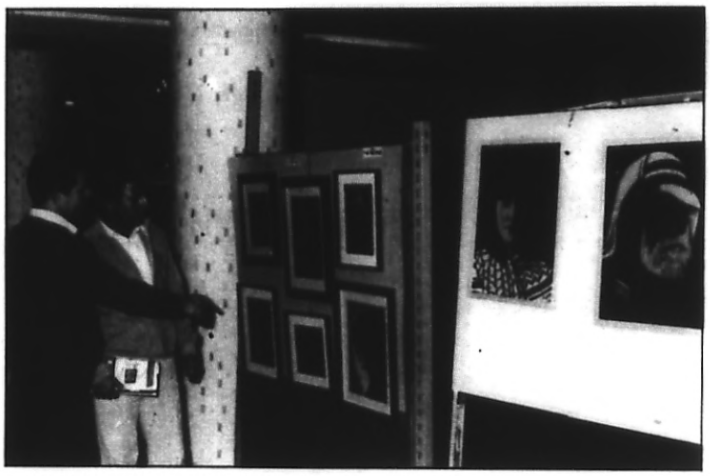
Cluverius is known to have acquired intensive contacts with local Palestinians while serving as the Consul General. He will remain in the area, rather than being based in Washington as is Murphy. His appointment is meant to "help in the US effort to advance the Middle East peace process," according to an American government press release.

Cluverius will be replaced by Morris Draper who served as deputy for US Ambassador Philip Habib during the 1982 Beirut siege. Draper is expected to take over the position at the US Consulate in East Jerusalem in the coming few weeks.

Cluverius has been an officer in the US Foreign Service since 1967. Prior to assuming his duties in Jerusalem in July, 1983, he served as deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

During 1976-1978, Cluverius was ambassador to Bahrain. Cluverius has served as well in the State Department as deputy director of the office of Israel and Arab-Israel affairs, 1973-1976, and in the embassies of the United States in Jidda and Tel Aviv.

Wat Cluverius



Artists Salah al-Atrash and Awad Abu Urmaneh examine their works at the Exhibition of Palestinian Fine Arts October 25-27./AO photo.

October 23, 1985

JABALYA YOUTH GIVEN LIFE

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced to life in prison Ashraf Id al-Ajrani of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip on charges of killing a suspected collaborator and membership in a Palestinian organisation. Ashraf is a third-year student at a Bulgarian university.

12 BEIT SAHOUR YOUTHS JAILED

Twelve youths from Beit Sahour in the Bethlehem area were sentenced to various prison terms ranging from 10 months to 2 years by a military court in Ramallah on security charges. Their ages range from 15-24.

October 24, 1985

GUNSHOTS FIRED AT ISRAELI CAR

An Israeli car was fired upon by automatic weapons as it drove on the Jerusalem-Jericho road last night, Israel Radio reported. The car was hit by a number of bullets, but no one was hurt. Israeli troops sealed off the area and conducted searches for the assailants.

RED CROSS OFFICIALS CALL ON DETAINEES

Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross paid visits to Palestinian administrative detainees held at Beer Sheba Prison.

GAZA LAND GRABBED

Israel's military authorities in the Gaza Strip have confiscated over the past week a total of 580 dunums in the Strip. Two-hundred and fifty dunums are located in Beit Hanoun 280 in southern Gaza and 50 west of Nusseirat refugee camp.

AN-NAJAH LECTURER JAILED

A Palestinian lecturer at an-Najah University in Nablus was jailed for 6 months under administrative detention orders. Dr Sami al-Kilani, of Ya'abad village in the Jenin district, was detained together with 4 other West Bank residents. He has been under town-arrest the last 3 years.

SECURITY PRISONER GETS 9 YEARS FOR SLAYING INMATE

Palestinian security prisoner Hassan Ahmad Abu Armaneh of al-Bureij refugee camp in the Gaza Strip was sentenced by an Israeli military court to 9 years in jail on charges of killing an inmate in Gaza prison. Hassan is already serving a 10-year prison term for security offences.

3000 DUNUMS SLATED FOR CONFISCATION

Israeli surveyors were seen surveying about 3000 dunums of land belonging to the village of Arab al-Ramadin south of Dhahriya in the Hebron district. When asked about the purpose of their work, the surveyors said the land was slated for confiscation by military authorities.

October 25, 1985

ISRAELI CAR FIREBOMBED

A petrol bomb was tossed at an Israeli car as it drove on the road between Gaza and Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip, military sources said. They reported no injuries or damage.

GAZA BOY DETAINED FOR 'PALESTINE' SHIRT

A 14-year-old boy who was wearing a shirt with the word 'Palestine' written on it was detained by the Israeli army in Gaza. Sami Ajour was stopped and detained by soldiers as he was walking near Palestine Square in Gaza.

SECURITY PRISONER ESCAPES

A Palestinian security prisoner serving a 6-year prison term in Jenin Prison has escaped, Israel police announced. Zakariya Isma'il Salem 20, of Nur Shams in the Tulkarm area, was sentenced to jail on charges of carrying out several petrol bomb attacks on Israeli vehicles.

October 27, 1985

MILITARY AMBULANCE FIREBOMBED

Attackers tossed a petrol bomb at an Israeli army ambulance as it passed through the centre of al-Bireh, Israel Radio reported. No injuries or damage were reported. Troops cordoned off the area and conducted searches.

AUTHORITIES GRAB 8000 DUNUMS

Citing "military reasons," Israeli military authorities confiscated 8000 dunums of land belonging to the village of Ojah in the Jericho area. Authorities spread barbed wire around the land and prevented landowners from entering it.

AL-FARA'A YOUTH GETS 5 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Ahmad Salah Hassan, 16, of al-Fara'a village in the Jenin district, to 5 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of throwing a petrol bomb at the detention centre in the village. No one was hurt in the attack, which occurred several months ago.

CALL FOR REOPENING MARKET

Fruit vendors in al-Bireh called on the municipality and police to reopen the main entrance to the outdoor marketplace in the town. The entrance was blocked five months ago following a spate of attacks on Israelis in the market.

October 28, 1985

TWO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ARRESTED

The authorities arrested Yasin Radi Radwan, 27, and Isma'il Mohammed Yusuf al-Afandi, 25, placing them in detention for 6 months each. Both are students at Bethlehem University. They were held under administrative detention orders.

BOMBS TOSSED AT PATROLS

Israel Radio reported that two bombs were tossed at two Israeli patrols at the Egyptian border near Eilat. No casualties were reported.

KALANDIA CENTRE CLOSED

The Vocational Training Centre in Kalandia was ordered closed by the administration until further notice. The order comes after a strike declared by the students demanding the return of the dismissed students.

2 GAZANS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Salem Abed Rabo Abu Haddaf, 38, and Ali Salem Abu Haddaf, 25, to 2.5 years in prison and 1.5 years suspended each on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, recruiting others and attempting to kill a suspected collaborator. Both are residents of Gaza.

TULKARM DOCTOR DETAINED

Military authorities detained Dr. Fathi Ahmad Abu Bakr of Tulkarm for unspecified reasons. Army troops and border policemen stormed his house at midnight and led him to an undisclosed location.

Bishop Lutfi Laham, of the Greek Catholic Church, addresses a Jerusalem YMCA audience on the subject of Muslim-Christian relations October 25./AO photo.

Owners of their Hebron home stand amidst its rubble after the military government demolished the house on the pretext that it was unlicenced./AO photo.

October 29, 1985

ROADSIDE BOMB EXPLODES

A small roadside bomb exploded north of the town of Halhoul in the Hebron area as a local car was passing in the area, Israel Radio reported. No injuries or damage were reported. Troops sealed off the area and began searches for the attackers.

RAMALLAH COURT HALVES DETENTION ORDER

An Israeli military court in Ramallah decided to reduce by half a 6 month detention order issued against Zahi al-Jaradat of Sair in the Hebron area. The court was acting on an appeal by Jaradat against his detention under administrative detention orders, according to which occupation authorities are entitled to jail a person for 6 months without charging him. The court also decided to reject an appeal by Ghazi al-Shashtari of Nablus against his detention-without-trial for 6 months.

2 GAZANS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Said Hassan Abu Sultan, 19, of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, to 1.5 years in jail and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and recruiting others.

The court also sentenced Salameh Jum'an al-Harran, 56, of Rafah in the Gaza Strip to 3 months in prison and 9 months suspended on charges of providing services to outlawed organisations.

2 HEBRON HOUSES BULLDOZED

Israeli bulldozers demolished two houses in Hebron on the pretext that they had been built without a licence.

The 6 room house of Mohammed Talal Izzat al-Hashlamoun and the house of Salah . Mohammed Zayed al-Rajabi were levelled under army and police guard. The first house was built in 1979, while the second was built in 1982.

QABATYA YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Mohammed Husni Nazzal of Qabatya to 7 months in prison and 5 months suspended on charges of hurling stones at Israeli vehicles. Osama Ibrahim Nazzal, from the same village, was sentenced to 3 months in prison, 6 months suspended and a IS400,000 fine on charges of demonstrating.

Israel to the Right

Continued from page 10

In Israel, on the other hand, such views are perceived as being radical and "anti-Zionist."

This deviation from the liberal-humanist values current in those societies of which Israel purports to be a member is of course explained by security considerations, by the continued state of emergency, and by the aspiration to preserve the Jewish-Zionist character of the state. Adoption of these values is perceived as creating a bi-national state. These practical needs, and the aspiration to preserve the Zionist character of the state, are doubtless decisive in the eyes of those who profess them. However, one cannot disregard the fact that they carry the price of giving up the values of individual and collective equality, and their preservation legitimises an institutional system of discrimination. Nor can one disregard the intimate connection between a normative system which knowingly sacrifices basic humanist, liberal values for national values, and the entrenchment of an extremist and violent sub-culture springing up among groups too unsophisticated to grasp double messages.

And that's not all. The normative system does not apply only to Israel's sovereign territory and to relations between its Jewish and Arab citizens; it also applies to the territories under Israeli control. Application of the principle of individual and collective equality in the territories is rejected with revulsion, paradoxically, by the leftist minority. This is because the left views them as "occupied territories" where, by definition, all collective rights are suspended and there are severe restrictions on individual freedom "until an agreed-upon political solution is reached." The application of Israeli norms in the territories is seen by the doves as tantamount to annexation. Thus, an occupation regime — which has draconian powers of punishment such as "area punishment," deportation, and demolition of homes; which is not subject to any checks and balances; and under which a two-tiered society of settler lords and Palestinian servants has been established — wins legitimation from all shades of the Israeli political spectrum, naturally out of conflicting ideologies.

The Afula hooligans do not distinguish between Israeli Arabs and those who inhabit the territories. They beat up an Arab because he's an Arab. They don't consider the fine points of "individual rights", "collective rights", "temporary occupation", "annexation", and other intellectual propaganda exercises. The normative institutional system in Israel and the West Bank gives them a confused message out of which they isolate those parts which suit their inclinations, fears, and cultural background — and then act accordingly.

The attempt to combat these manifestations by condemning "racism" and holding Jewish-Arab meetings is pathetic, aimed at quieting the troubled consciences of their initiators. Those seeking a cure must be prepared for a much more painful operation, one which will wreak a substantial change in the entire system of values. ■

Meron Benvenisti is the former deputy mayor to Teddy Kollek. He is now the head of the West Bank Data Centre. This article was published in HaAretz *August 8.*

Charity

Continued from page 11

Church Rehabilitation Centre at Sternberg on Star Mountain.

What was most unique about the traditional embroidered pieces on display was the eyecatching splash of colour. The women from Kalandia Refugee Camp clearly took the lead in creativity with their varied use of traditional patterns and brightly coloured thread to embroider such diverse items as a bed-jacket and dining room tablecloth. This was indeed the first time any of the more than 50 camp women had made a tablecloth. "It is a progressive art and open to creative personal initiative," said one of the women in charge of Kalandia's display.

The cooperative, established in 1958, has 13 fulltime staff who coordinate the work of the women. Each needlework artist receives JD5 (US 12.5 dollars) per spool of thread used to create a design on a piece of cloth which if a metre square can take as much as four months and 15 spools of thread to complete. The women often use designs found on old Palestinian dresses, combining them with an unlimited choice of colour to create their art. One piece even portrayed Saint George and the dragon, though the Muslim women from Kalandia did not know that was a Christian symbol.

Not only were Kalandia's offerings the most spectacular of the exhibit, but they were also the most steeply priced. Perhaps the least expensive item was an embroidered apron selling for US 12 dollars, but most of the work sold for upwards of US 50 dollars. One rather large tablecloth was even priced at US 750 dollars. Not that many people are willing to eat on a work of art. Nevertheless, the Kalandia Cooperative found the exhibit helpful. "It is a great idea," said one. "It is a chance for us to get exposure and to exchange ideas with other committees. We would like to be part of future exhibits."

The needlework seen at the YWMA and YWCA tables was very much like what is usually seen at such exhibits, though there were a few unique features. The YWMA display featured some very beautiful and colourful squares meant to decorate a table or even to be transformed into a pillowcase. At the YWCA exhibit, a selection of dolls dressed in traditional costumes from Ramallah, Jericho, and Bethlehem were sold for US 7 dollars a piece. The display also included the more common features of Palestinian needlework like bookmarks and embroidered squares.

True to the tradition of red, orange, black and white embroidered dresses immediately recognisable throughout the West Bank as unique to the Ramallah area, the Ramallah Women's Cooperative exhibited a variety of their work ranging from wallhangings to eyeglass cases to dressed up dolls. Their display was inviting as well as interesting mainly because of the special needlework that only Ramallah offers. One of the oldest needlework cooperatives in the West Bank, the Ramallah organisation specialises in the several local designs ranging from Moons and Roses to the Flower Pot and the Kohl Bottle to the Swans. This exhibit was a valuable opportunity for the women to take their work out of Ramallah and display it to a largely foreign audience.

The Bir Zeit Cooperative was mostly interesting not for their charming display of local village craft, but because of their charitable work the exhibit was organised to fund. The society, organised in 1970, depends entirely on voluntary contributions to operate their dental and general health care clinic. Not only are they "actively involved in helping village women increase their income by providing them with paid work in embroidery and by marketing their products," as their brochure states, but they are even more actively working to improve the deteriorating health conditions, particularly of village women.

Their dental clinic is open six days a week and is divided into sections for children, adults and pregnant women. Children are treated for free and the others are treated at a subsidised price. In addition they operate a primary health care centre, a mother and child health centre, an ophthalmic clinic and a rural outreach programme. All are staffed with qualified medical personnel who give of their time and skill on a voluntary basis.

Perhaps the most unique and inspiring aspect of the exhibit was the way both the international and Palestinian women came together for the benefit of local artists and charitable needs. In addition, all of the preparations for the exhibit were donated including the room in The National Palace Hotel, allowing the women to avoid costly overhead and give all of the money directly to the Bir Zeit clinics. Such cooperation is encouraging in a region increasingly divided and embittered, and is indeed the most noble use of Palestinian art. ■

Olive Harvest

Generations Meeting Under the Olive Tree

by Khalil Touma

"Watch it," shouted my father, dragging me from my muddy dreams and pointing at the unsteady ladder wavering on the little branches of the olive tree. Had he not shaken me up with his shout, I and my dreams might have been broken into little pieces.

I hurriedly climbed down the nearly two metres and moved the ladder to a safer place resting on a stronger branch. Once again I ascended the steps and began immediately to return to my wanderings high in the top of the tree.

For me and probably for many of my generation brought up in the wake of what is known as the first calamity of the Palestinian people — the defeat of 1948 — the land is no more than a personal belonging of our elders, like trousers of theirs for example. So, while we care very much not to see them walking without trousers, still we unconsciously believe that they themselves should worry about them, and that it is their own responsibility to maintain them in good shape.

This, however, should not indicate by any means that we do not love the land. On the contrary, we revere it and deeply believe that it is the very guarantor of our existence in a time when our people are subjected to unlimited attempts to negate it. But our society in the last few decades has seen the development of other work opportunities, other ways of making a living. Hence **our generation has flooded the cities** *looking for work. The land which we were brought up on has ceased to be the only source of livelihood for our extended families. However, we cannot avoid giving a hand to our fathers in certain seasons when they desperately need our help. The annual olive harvest is one of these seasons.*

* * * *

"It has become an annual punishment," continued the 25-year-old Sami, who normally worked as a waiter in a Jerusalem hotel. Struggling hard to reach a few olives at the top of the tree, he pined, "It is not worth the labour invested in it." Yet, his father shut him up reminding him that it was indeed a blessing from God.

The early wind of October was blowing up, heralding an approaching rain, and Sami was already exhausted but did not have the guts to sit down and leave the rest of the family, men and women to work alone. It would be humiliating, he thought, to show that he was tired while the girls had been collecting the olives so laboriously. It was barely midday, so intead of quitting the tree he escaped into his own private thoughts.

Last night he returned home exhausted at a late hour to find the rest of the family still awake. His mother was baking bread in the oven and his father was gathering utensils in a sack. "Tomorrow we go to pick olives," said his father. "The municipal council decided today at last. The villagers protested the delay and could not wait any longer. So prepare yourself."

Sami lit a cigarette and sat down on the threshold of the house and thought. He could not avoid going, so he began to formulate the most convincing excuse to take a few days vacation from his job. What would he tell them, the Israeli boss? That he was gone to pick olives from trees his boss's government did not even acknowledge his people owned?

The morning came so quickly that Sami thought he had only slept an hour or so. He could hear the tread of the farmers' mules in the street under his windows. Everyone in the village is going to his field, he thought. He could also hear his father waking everybody while murmuring thanks to God. "Come on my sons. *Yalla.* It is midday already."

Olive picking. (Inset) A traditional farmer's meal./EA photo.

Sami looked at his watch and it was not 5:00 in the morning yet. What a helluva day is this going to be, he thought, and got up. He had a cup of tea with the family and resisted all the tempting persuasions of his mother to have a good breakfast like his father, who fried two eggs in olive oil. His father ate them with bread, not to mention everything else on the table — olives, tomatoes, sour cream, onions and a cup of tea. "Too early for me," said the young man. "You, the generation of these days, are very delicate," said the father with an old carved expression of sorrow on his face. "I am in my seventies and still stronger than you. We were brought up on olive oil and pure grain bread, a thing your generation could not care less for these days."

The breakfast ended in less than 10 minutes and the whole family gathered the ladders and utensils, and joined the stream of farmers hurrying to the fields. Sami's mother stayed behind to do the housework and prepare lunch which she would soon carry to the family where she would join the working team.

The roads to the fields are historical ones. For tens or most probably hundreds of years they have maintained their present shape — such narrow, thorny paths, enough for one person or a donkey to pass at a time. Father was the first to greet the people in their fields with a loud good morning, inquiring about the product. "How is it this year? Well loaded, *inshalla.*" He passes by the next field and Father comments, "Abu Ali always takes care of his orchard. Look, it is well-ploughed. He apparently started picking the olives of his northern orchard first." Then to another, "After the death of Samir his land was deserted. His sons are not paying any attention to this precious piece of land."

By the time they reached the orchard, Sami was already done in so he put down the ladder from his shoulder and sat leaning against a trunk of a tree. "Why don't the people open this road and widen it so that cars could pass?" he asked in an accusing tone. "It costs a lot," Father said, "but it will be open one day. Building is slowly approaching the area, despite the lack of water and electricity. Nevertheless, these roads have remained as they are for hundreds of years. On them my father and grandfathers walked, here you also walk and one day so will your sons." The serenely cold breeze of the morning was urging Father to begin the ritual labour. So he gave instructions to the team at once, telling everybody to to go this area or that.

When he had finished distributing the work, he took a tour of the land checking every individual tree, gazing up at them one by one, standing very still with his palm catching his chin as if he were talking to the happy dancing branches. Looking at him walking jauntily across the lot or jumping the walls from one basin to another Sami thought his father looked to be still in his thirties. 'Not a fear in the world,' thought Sami, 'except, of course, his one fear — the black shadow of Israeli confiscation of his land.' So far, he had been lucky.

Father returned from his walk full of joy and jubilance. "It is not so bad," he said. "If things go well,we shall make the house needs of oil this year. Our situation is much better than many others. Besides, it is in general a bad year for olives." Sami was not satisfied with this explanation and answered in a sharp tone. "You forget, Father, how much you spent this year on the land — three times ploughing, besides other things, and the long workdays of yours and ours. Do you think it is worth it?" Hardly had he finished, than his older brothers — one who worked as a carpenter, another a plasterer, and a third a painter — answered him in one voice. "This land is all we have on the face of this earth," they said. "Without it we are worth nothing. Good harvest or no, we will never leave it."

More time had passed and their hands had grown warm as the men went up and down the ladders into the branches, feverishly hunting any olive they could find while the girls squatted on the ground and picked them up with their bare fingers. The sun was now higher in the sky. The sacks were being filled slowly but surely, and the popular national songs were rising up from the midst of the green branches in all directions. Politics were debated back and forth every now and then, mainly in short commentary form. Short sentences full of frustration followed by voices of hope could be heard. Arafat, Hussein, Israel, America, the slaughter of the Palestinians in Lebanon, the price of oil this year, the new Shekel, Kahane, and other topics, burst upon the scene. Most ended in a long silence broken by a loud mannish voice beginning the next song with a long, deep "OOF."

Mother now appeared at a distance. Everyone knew this meant lunch was approaching and they all began shouting at one another, "Let us finish here." "Let us finish there before lunch." Mother was warmly welcomed. Saluting them, she immediately joined the team. Questions were hurled at her from the men in the trees. "What did you bring for us?" as if they did not know. For certainly it would be their favourite lentil meal.

Soon, the men came down off the ladders and everyone gathered in a narrow, crowded circle to reach the sole large tray of *Mujadara*, a popular Palestinian meal of lentils, rice and fried onions. It took no more than a few minutes and everyone had gone aside to eat grapes or smoke a cigarette. Such a happy intimate gathering.

A shrill wistle could be heard in the remote distance, as the guard appointed by the municipality roamed through the fields to stop any possible olive thefts or trespassing of one another's orchards. Normally, children from poor families who owned no olive trees would go around the already harvested trees looking for olives left behind on the branches or on the ground. They were unfortunately treated harshly by the landowners, who feared they would damage the branches or try to take from unpicked trees. Upon hearing the whistle, however, Sami's younger sister said sadly, "Let the poor make a living as well. Olives are very expensive this year." No one assured her. The old man looked afar off and kept silent. Soon everone returned to their work.

Now the day had ended and in a little while it would be hard to recognise the harvest in its oily black liquid. A man riding his mule was approaching and he shouted at Father. "Are you ready?" he asked. "In a few minutes," the old man answered.

Now everyone was collecting the scattered things. Some went to close the overflowing sacks, others carried the ladders and the utensils which would be kept in a safe corner until the following morning. Others carried the sacks and loaded them onto the mule. In a few minutes, a tired, but happy procession followed the mule back home.

It took three days for Sami and the others to finish picking the olives. A few days later and the whole lot was taken to the olive press. With the oil resting in the jars at least, life would surely go smoother for the household, and an inner sense of security, whether true or false, would be fostered in the hearts of the simple people.